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THE

LETTERS

OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

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OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

TO

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

WITH REMARKS,

BY

WILLIAM MELMOTH, Esq.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

———*Quo fit ut omnis*
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis.———HORACE.

VOL. I.

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THE principal design of the following attempt, is to trace the conduct, and inquire into the character of Cicero. For this purpose, the present Letters were preferred to those which are written to Atticus, as they shew the Author of them in a greater variety of connections, and afford an opportunity of considering him in almost every possible point of view.

This correspondence includes a period of about twenty years; commencing immediately after Cicero's consulate, and ending a few months before his death.

LETTERS

OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

TO

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.*

BOOK FIRST.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 691.]

TO POMPEY THE GREAT, IMPERATOR.†

YOUR letter to the senate afforded inexpressible satisfaction, not only to myself, but to the public in general: as the hopes it brought us of a peace, are agreeable to those expectations which, in full con-

* These letters are placed according to their supposed dates: The reader will find, at the end, an index, referring to the order in which they stand in the common editions.

† The title of *Imperator*, during the times of the republic, did not bear the least relation to that idea which is af-

fidence of your superior abilities, I had always encouraged the world to entertain.* I must acquaint you, however, that it entirely sunk the spirits of that party, who, from being formerly your declared enemies, have lately become your pretended friends; as it utterly disappointed their most sanguine hopes.†

fixed to it in modern language; but was merely honc and occasional. It was conferred on the Roman ge by the acclamations of their army in the field, after e signal advantage gained by their courage and conduct d it was immediately dropped again as soon as they ent. ed into Rome.

* Pompey was at this time carrying on the war in Asia against Mithridates, king of Pontus: and the letter to which Cicero alludes, probably brought an account of the progress of the campaign. Mithridates was a cruel but brave prince, who had given employment to the Roman arms for more than forty years. Pompey, however, had the good fortune to complete what Sylla and Lucullus, his predecessors in this command, were obliged to leave unfinished; and he not only defeated Mithridates, but annexed to the Roman dominions all that part of Asia which is between the Red, the Caspian, and the Arabian seas.—*Flor.* iii. 5.

† It is doubtful to whom Cicero here alludes. Some of the commentators suppose that he points at Lucullus, who, as he had been recalled from the command in which Pompey was now employed, would not, it may well be imagined, be greatly pleased with the success of his rival. Others think that he had Cæsar in view: and what renders this conjecture extremely probable, is, that Cæsar and Pom-

Notwithstanding the letter, which you wrote to me by the same express, discovered but very slight marks of your affection, yet I read it with pleasure. The truth is, I am always abundantly satisfied with the consciousness of having exerted my best offices towards my friends; and, if they do not think proper to make me an equal return, I am well contented that the superiority should remain on my side. But if my utmost zeal for your interests has not been sufficient to unite you to mine, I doubt not, that our co-operating together, upon the same patriot-principles, will be a means of cementing us more strongly hereafter. In the mean time, it would neither be agreeable to the openness of my temper, nor to the freedom of that mutual friendship we profess, to conceal what I thought wanting in your letter. I will acknowledge, then, that the public services I performed during my late consulship, gave me reason to expect, from your attachment both to myself and to the commonwealth, that you would have sent me your congratulations: and I am persuaded you would not have omitted

pey, who had been long opposites in politics, were now, *apparently*, reconciled; the former (for purposes which shall hereafter be explained) falling in with that party who were for conferring the highest and most unconstitutional honours on the latter.

them, but from a tenderness to certain persons.* Let me assure you, however, that what I have performed for the preservation of my country, has received the concurrent applauses of the whole world. You will find, when you return hither, I conducted that important scene with so much spirit and policy, that you, like another Scipio, though far superior, indeed, to that hero in glory, will not refuse to admit me, like a second Lælius,† and not

* Cicero was advanced to the consular office the year before the date of this letter; that is, An. Urb. 690. He particularly alludes to the part he acted during his administration, with regard to the suppressing of Catiline's conspiracy.—[See Letters iii. and vi. of this Book.]—And he had undoubtedly cause to complain of Pompey's unexpected coolness in the present instance: the occasion of which seems to have been this. A very powerful party was now forming against Cicero by Cæsar and Metellus the tribune; and Pompey was considered as a proper person to support their designs of destroying the great authority which Cicero had lately acquired. It is highly probable, therefore, from Pompey's reserve to our author, that he had received some overtures of this sort; and as he was jealous of every power that might obstruct his own, he was by no means disposed, it should seem, to advance Cicero's credit, by gratifying him with those applauses which his conduct deserved.—*Plut. in vit. Cicero.*

† Scipio Africanus the younger, to whom Cicero here alludes, was consul in the year of Rome 605; as Lælius was in the year 612. The strict intimacy which subsisted

much behind him, I trust, in wisdom, as the friend and associate of your private and public transactions. Farewell.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 691.]

QUINTUS METELLUS CELER,* PROCONSUL, TO CICERO.

As I persuaded myself, that our reconciliation and friendship was mutually sincere, I never ima-

between these distinguished Romans, is celebrated by several of the classic writers: but Cicero has paid it the highest honours in his Dialogue upon Friendship. Scipio and Lælius used to retire together from the business of the state, to a villa situated on the sea-shore, near Laurentum; where these illustrious friends did not think it beneath their characters to descend to the humblest recreations. The *virtus Scipiadæ et mitis sapientia Læli*, the heroism of Scipio, and the wisdom of Lælius, could unbend in gathering shells and pebbles on the coast: and perhaps it is some evidence of their merit, that they were capable of being thus easily diverted. Less virtuous minds generally have recourse to more agitated relaxations, and are seldom entertained without carrying their passions into their amusements. *Orat. pro Murœn.* 36. *Hor. Sat.* ii. 1. v. 72. *Cic. de Orat.* ii. 6.

* Quintus Metellus Celer exercised the office of Prætor, the same year that Cicero was consul. Two years after the date of this letter, he was himself elected to that supreme dignity: and Cicero speaks of his administration with ap-

gined I should have had occasion to complain of being marked out in my absence as the object of your ridicule.† For the same reason I was equally far from supposing that you would have acted with so much bitterness against my relation Metellus,‡

plause. He was at this time governor of Cisalpine Gaul. *Ad Att.* ii. 1.

† The reader will find this explained by Cicero's answer in the following letter.

‡ The person here alluded to, is Quintus Metellus Cæcilius Nepos, at this time a tribune of the people. He had lately attempted to procure a law for recalling Pompey out of Asia; pretending that his presence was necessary in order to quiet the commotions in the republic. But his real view was to destroy the great credit and authority which Cicero now possessed, by throwing the whole power into Pompey's hands. Cato, who was likewise tribune at the same time, most strenuously opposed this design of his colleague; and the contests that rose between them, upon this occasion, were attended with great and dangerous disturbances. Metellus, however, being at length obliged to desist, retired in disgust, with his complaints to Pompey. After he had thus withdrawn himself, it was proposed, that the censure of the senate should be passed upon his turbulent conduct, as also that he should be deposed from his office: and it was these proceedings, together with the part that Metellus Celer supposed Cicero to have borne in them, which occasioned the warm remonstrances of the letter before us. Plutarch asserts it was owing to the prudence and moderation of Cato, that the motion against Metellus Nepos was not carried. Suetonius, on the other hand, ex-

as to persecute him, even to the loss of his fortunes and his dignities, merely for a single word. If the regard which is due to his own character could not protect him from the unjust resentment of the senate, at least the zeal I have ever shewn for the interests of that illustrious order, the services I have rendered the commonwealth, and the consideration which is owing to our birth,* should have powerfully pleaded in his favour. But it has been *his* fate to be oppressed, as well as *mine* to be deserted, by those who ought to have treated us in a very different manner: and the honour of that important command with which I am invested, cannot secure me, it seems, from having cause to lament the indignities which are offered both to myself and to my family. Since the senate have shewn themselves to be so little influenced by the dictates of equity, or those principles of moderation which distinguished our ancestors, it will be

pressly says, that he was actually suspended; and indeed the following answer of Cicero renders it extremely probable, that some decree of that kind had been voted, and afterwards repealed. *Plut. in vit. Caton. Suet. in Jul. Cæs.* 16.

* Within the space of twelve years, there had been no less than twelve of this family, who were either consuls, censors, or distinguished with the honours of a triumph.—*Paterc.* ii. 11.

no wonder, if they should find reason to repent of their conduct. But as to yourself, I repeat it again, I never had the least suspicion that you were capable of acting with so much inconstancy to me and mine. However, neither this dishonour, which has been cast upon my family, nor any injuries which can be done to me, in my own person, shall ever alienate my affections from the republic. Farewell.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 691.]

TO QUINTUS METELLUS CELER, PROCONSUL.

I HAVE received your letter, wherein you tell me, that "you had persuaded yourself, you should ne- "ver have had occasion to complain of being mark- "ed out as the subject of my railleries." I must assure you, in return, that I do not well understand to what you allude. I suspect, however, you may have been informed of a speech I lately made in the senate, wherein I took notice there was a considerable party amongst us, who regretted that the commonwealth should have owed its preservation to my hands. I added, I confess, that in compliance with the request "of some of your rela- "tions, whose desires you could by no means re- "fuse, you suppressed the applause with which

" you intended to have honoured me in that illus-
" trious assembly. I mentioned, at the same time,
" that we had shared between us the glory of ha-
" ving saved the republic; and that whilst I was
" protecting Rome from the wicked designs of her
" intestine enemies, you were defending Italy from
" the open attacks and secret conspiracies of those
" who had meditated our general ruin. But that
" some of your family, nevertheless, had endeavour-
" ed to weaken this our illustrious association, and
" were unwilling you should make any return on
" your part for those high honours with which you
" had been distinguished on mine." As this was an open confession, how much I was mortified in not receiving the applause I expected, it raised a general smile in the house: not indeed at you, but at myself, for ingenuously acknowledging my disappointment. And surely what I thus said, cannot but be considered as highly to your credit; since it was an evidence that, amidst the highest honours, I still thought my glory incomplete, without the concurrence of your approbation.

As to what you mention concerning a *mutual affection*, I know not what you may esteem as a mark of that disposition. But, according to my apprehension, it consists in an equal return of those good offices which one friend receives from another. If, as a proof of this gratitude on my part, I were to

tell you, that I gave up my pretensions to your present government; you might well suspect my veracity. The truth is, I renounced it as being inconsistent with that plan of conduct I had laid down to myself;* and I find every day more and more reason to be satisfied with having taken this resolution. But this, with strict sincerity, I can affirm, that I no sooner relinquished my claim to your province, than I considered how to throw it into your hands. I need not mention the management which was employed in order to secure the lot in your favour: but this much I will say, that I hope you do not imagine the part my colleague acted in that

* Cicero here alludes to the resolution he took of not accepting any government at the expiration of his consular office; a resolution, it must be owned, worthy of a generous and disinterested patriot. Accordingly, in a speech which he made in the senate on the day of his inauguration, he declared he would receive no honours at the close of his ministry, which it was in the power of the tribunes to obstruct; and indeed it was in their power to obstruct every honour the senate could decree. As the authority of these popular magistrates could thus disappoint the ambition of the consuls, it had often influenced them in the exercise of their functions. But by this self-denying renunciation which Cicero made, he had nothing to hope from their favour, or to fear from their resentment; and consequently divested himself of every motive that could check a vigorous opposition to their factious measures. *Orat. cont. Rul.* i. 8.

affair was, in any of its circumstances, without my privity and consent. Let me desire you to recollect with what expedition I assembled the senate immediately after the balloting was over, and how fully I spoke upon that occasion in your applause. Accordingly, you then told me, that I had not only paid an high compliment to yourself, but at the same time cast a very severe reproach upon your colleagues. I will add, that so long as the decree shall subsist, which the senate passed at that juncture, there will not be wanting a public and conspicuous monument of my good offices towards you. Remember likewise the zeal with which I supported your interest in the senate; the encomiums with which I mentioned you in the assemblies of the people; and the affectionate letters I wrote to you, after your departure. And when you have laid these several circumstances together, I may safely leave it to your own determination, whether your behaviour to me, upon your last return to Rome, was suitable to these instances of my friendship. However, I know not what you mean by our *reconcilement:* an expression, it should seem, which cannot, with any propriety, be applied where there never was any formal rupture.

With respect to your relation, whom I ought not, you tell me, to have persecuted so severely in resentment of a single expression, I have this to say:

In the first place, I most highly applaud the affectionate disposition you discover towards him: and, in the next, I hope you would pardon me, if that duty which I owe my country, and to which no man is more strongly devoted, had, at any time, obliged me to oppose his measures. But if I have only defended myself against his most cruel attacks, have you not reason to be satisfied, that I never once troubled you with my complaints? On the contrary, when I perceived he was collecting the whole force of his tribunitial power, in order to oppress me, I contented myself with endeavouring to divert him from his unjust purpose, by applying to your wife* and sister; † as the latter had often indeed, in consideration of my connexions with Pompey, exerted her good offices in my behalf. Nevertheless, (and I am sure you are no

* Sister to Claudius: a woman of most abandoned lewdness, and suspected of having poisoned Metellus, who died in 694, a few years after this letter was written.—Cicero, who attended him in his last moments, represents them as truly heroic. Metellus saw the approaches of death without the least concern upon his own account, and only lamented that he should lose his life at a time when his friend and his country would have most occasion for his services. *Pro Cælio* 24.

† Mucia: she was married to Pompey, but afterwards divorced from him on occasion of her gallantries with Cæsar. *Ad Att.* i. 12. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

stranger to the truth of what I am going to say,) upon laying down my consular office, he prevented me from making the usual speech to the people: and thus, what had never been denied to the lowest and most worthless of our magistrates, he most injuriously refused to a consul, who had preserved the liberties of his country. This insult, however, proved greatly to my honour; for, as he would only suffer me to take the oath,* I pronounced the sincerest and most glorious of asseverations with an uncommon exertion of voice: and the whole assembly of the people as loudly called the gods to witness, that what I had sworn was most religiously true.† But though I received this signal affront from your cousin, yet I had the very same day sent an amicable message to him by our common friends, with the hopes of persuading him into a better temper. The answer he returned was, that all applications of this kind were now too late. He had, indeed, asserted, some days before, in a speech which he made in a general assembly of the people, "that the man who had punished others with-

* The consuls, at the expiration of their office, took an oath, that they had faithfully and zealously discharged their trust. *Manut.*

† Cicero did not confine himself to the usual terms of the oath; but swore, that he had preserved Rome and the Republic from destruction. *Plut. in vit. Cicer.*

" out suffering them to be heard, * ought to be de-
" nied the privilege of being heard in his turn."
Excellent and judicious patriot indeed! to maintain that the same punishment which had been decreed, and with the approbation too of every honest man in Rome, to those rebels and incendiaries who had attempted to involve their country in the most dreadful calamities, was due to him who had preserved the senate, the city, and all Italy in general,

* The principal conspirators concerned with Catiline being taken into custody, Cicero convened the senate; when it was debated in what manner to proceed against the prisoners. Silanus, the consul elect, advised, that they should all be put to death. But this was against an express law, which prohibited the taking away the life of any citizen without a formal process. The proposal of Silanus was opposed by Cæsar, as being a stretch of the senate's power, which might be productive of very dangerous consequences in a free state. It was his opinion, therefore, that the estates of the conspirators should be confiscated, and their persons closely imprisoned. Cicero, as Dr Middleton observes, delivered his sentiments with all the skill both of the orator and the statesman; and while he seemed to shew a perfect neutrality, and to give equal commendation to both the opinions, was artfully labouring to turn the scale in favour of Silanus's, which he considered as a necessary example of severity in the present circumstances of the republic. A vote accordingly passed, that the conspirators should suffer death; which Cicero immediately put in execution. *Life of Cic.* Vol. i. 219, 221, 230. See Letter 6. of Book i.

from destruction. These were the provocations that induced me to oppose your cousin openly, and before his face: and accordingly, in a debate on the first of January, concerning the state of the republic, I thought proper to let him see, that he had declared war against a man who did not want resolution to return his attack. In a speech which he made a few days afterwards, he was pleased to throw out several menacing expressions against me: and it was evidently his determined purpose to effect my ruin, not by bringing my actions to a fair and impartial trial, but by the most illegal methods of violence. Had I not acted then with spirit in opposition to his ill-considered measures, would not the world have thought, (and thought too with reason) that the courage I exerted in my consulate was merely accidental, and not the result of a steady and rational fortitude? If you are ignorant of these instances of your cousin's deportment, he has concealed a very material article of his conduct. On the other hand, if he apprised you of them, you have reason to look upon me as having acted with great temper and forbearance in never interrupting you with my expostulations. In a word, you will find my complaint against him was not founded on a single expression, as you call it, but on a continued series of malevolence. Let me now, therefore, shew you, that my conduct in re-

turn was influenced by principles of the greatest good-nature; if good-nature it may be deemed, not to exert a proper resentment against injuries of so atrocious a kind. The truth is, I never once made a motion in the senate to his prejudice; on the contrary, as often as any question arose in which he was concerned, I always voted on the most favourable side. I will add, (though it is a circumstance, indeed, in which I ought not to have concerned myself,) that I was so far from being displeased with the decree which passed in his favour, that, in consideration of his being related to you, I actually promoted it to the utmost of my power.

Thus you see that, far from being the aggressor, I have only acted a defensive part. Nor have I, as you accuse me, betrayed a capricious disposition with regard to yourself: on the contrary, notwithstanding your failure in some amicable offices on your side, I have still preserved the same invariable sentiments of friendship on mine. Even at this very instant, when I have before me, I had almost called it your threatening letter, yet I will tell you that I not only excuse, but highly applaud, the generous warmth you express in your cousin's behalf: as I know, by what passes in my own breast, the wonderful force of family-affection. I hope then you will judge of my resentment with the same candour, and acknowledge, that if, without the least

provocation on my part, I have been most cruelly and outrageously treated, by any of your relations, I had a right, I will not only say to defend myself, but to be supported in that defence, if it were necessary, even by your whole army. Believe me, I have ever been desirous of making you my friend; as I have endeavoured to convince you, upon all occasions, that I was entirely yours: sentiments which I still retain, and shall continue to retain, just as long as you desire. To say all in one word, I am much more disposed to sacrifice my resentment against your cousin, to my friendship towards yourself, than to suffer the former, in any degree, to impair our mutual affection. Farewell.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 691.]

TO CAIUS ANTONIUS, IMPERATOR.*

I HAD determined not to trouble you with my letters, unless of the recommendatory kind: not that I had reason to expect my solicitations would have much weight with you, but as being unwilling it

* The person to whom this letter is addressed, was uncle to the celebrated Mark Antony. He had been consul the year before with Cicero, and was now governor of Macedonia.

should appear to those who might apply for them, that any coolness had arisen between us. However, as our common friend Atticus, who has been a particular witness of the warmth with which I have ever promoted your interest, is coming into your province, I cannot forbear conveying a letter to you by his hand; especially as he very strongly importuned me for that purpose.

Were I to claim even your highest services, the demand could by no means be thought unreasonable, after having contributed every thing on my part for the advancement of your ease, your interest, and your honours.* But I may safely appeal to your own conscience, whether you have ever made me the least return: so far from it, indeed, that I have heard, (for I dare not say I have been *informed*,† as it is an expression, it seems,

* The consuls, at the expiration of their office, used to draw lots to which of the provinces they should respectively succeed as governors. This which Antonius possessed, one of the most desirable in all the Roman empire, having fallen to Cicero, he resigned it to his colleague.

† This alludes to an expression which Cicero had often occasion to employ in the affair of Catiline's conspiracy. As his principal intelligence arose from some of the conspirators themselves, who communicated to him, from time to time, the designs of their associates, he was obliged to conceal the authors of these discoveries: and, therefore, in laying his allegations before the senate, or the people, he

which you frequently, though I am sure injuriously, object to me,) I have heard, then, that you have intimated something as if—But I leave it to Atticus to tell you the rest; as the report* has given him

was under the necessity of speaking only in general terms, and of assuring them, that he had been *informed* of the particular articles he mentioned. But though the event proved that his informations were true; yet, in general, this method of accusation was extremely odious, and of dangerous example. Cicero's enemies, therefore, did not fail to take advantage of this popular objection, and were perpetually repeating the phrase, *I am informed*, whenever they were disposed to reproach his conduct in this transaction. *See Mong. rem.* 19. on the 19th let. of the first book to Atticus. *Plut. in vit. Cicer. Sallust. Declam. in Cic.* 2.

* This report was of a very unfavourable kind indeed; for it charged Cicero with having a share in the money which Antonius raised by his exactions on the unhappy people of his province. The very judicious French translator of the epistles to Atticus, seems to imagine there was some foundation for this report; as he thinks it probable that Antonius had agreed to pay Cicero a certain sum in consideration of his having relinquished to him the government of Macedonia: but this is a conjecture altogether unsupported by any evidence. Thus much, however, is certain; in the first place, that Cicero had some demands upon Antonius, of a nature which he did not choose should be known; as, whenever he hints at them to Atticus, it is always in a very dark and enigmatical manner: and, in the next place, that he sacrificed his own judgment, and the good opinion of the world, in order to support Antonius in his present government. From which facts the reader is

no less concern than it gave myself. In the mean time, I will only say, that the senate and the whole Roman people have been witnesses of that uncommon zeal with which I have entered into your interest. What sentiments of gratitude this has impressed upon your mind, you yourself are the best judge; how much you owe me in consequence of it, let others determine. It was friendship that first engaged my good offices in your favour; and I afterwards was induced to continue them merely from a principle of constancy. But, believe me, your present * affairs require a much larger proportion of my zeal and pains; the utmost exertion of which shall not be wanting, provided I may have reason to think that they are not entirely thrown away.

left to draw the conclusion that he shall judge reasonable. *Vid. ad Att. l.* xii. 13, 14. See the following remark.

* Pompey had declared his intentions of very strenuously insisting, that Antonius should be recalled from his government, in order to give an account of his administration: which, it seems, had been extremely oppressive. It was upon this occasion that Cicero promised him his service; and it seems, by the following letter, that he kept his word. But if he had not, his honour, perhaps, would not have been the more questionable: for it appears, from a letter to Atticus, that Cicero could not undertake the defence of Antonius without suffering in the opinion, not only of the populace, but of every worthy man in Rome. *Ad Att.* i. 12. See the last note on the following letter.

For I shall never be so absurdly officious, as to employ them where they are not acceptable. Atticus will inform you in what particular instances you may, probably, have occasion for my good offices: in the mean while, I very warmly recommend him to yours. I am well persuaded, indeed, that his own interest with you is his best advocate; however, if you have any remaining affection for me, let me entreat you to shew it (and it is the most obliging manner in which you can shew it) by your services to my friend. Farewell.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 692.]

TO PUBLIUS SESTIUS, QUÆSTOR.*

I COULD scarce credit your freedman Decius, as highly as I think of his fidelity and attachment to your interest, when he requested me, in your name, to use my endeavours, that you may not at present

* Every proconsul, or governor of a province, had a quæstor under him, who acted as a sort of paymaster-general to the provincial forces, and as superintendant likewise of the public revenues. Sestius was at this time exercising that office under Antonius, in Macedonia. Some further account will be occasionally given of him in the progress of these remarks.

be recalled. Remembering, indeed, the very different strain in which all the letters I had before received from you were written, I could not easily be induced to think that you had so greatly altered your mind. But after Cornelia's visit to my wife, and the discourse which I had myself with Cornelius, I could no longer doubt of this change in your inclinations; and, accordingly, I never failed to attend in your behalf, at every subsequent meeting of the senate. The question, however, did not come on till January last, when we carried it without much opposition: though I found some difficulty in persuading Quintus Fusius,* and the rest of your friends, to whom you had written upon this subject, to believe me rather than your own letters.

I had not agreed with Crassus for his house, when you wished me joy of the purchase; but I was so much encouraged by your congratulations, that I soon afterwards bought it at thirty-five hundred thousand sesterces.† I am now, therefore, so deep-

* One of the tribunes of the people.

† About 28,000l. Cicero, it is said, borrowed a considerable part of this sum from a man whose cause he had undertaken to defend. But eloquence was not as yet professedly venal in Rome; and it was looked upon as highly dishonourable for an advocate, not only to receive any reward, but even a loan of his client. Cicero, therefore, being publicly reproached with this transaction, most confidently denied the charge; declaring at the same time, that he had

ly involved in debt, as to be full ripe, you must know, for a plot, if any malecontent will be so charitable as to admit me into one. But the misfortune is,

not the least intention of making this purchase. However, he soon afterwards completed his bargain: when being taxed in the senate with this unworthy falsehood, he endeavoured to laugh it off, by telling his censurers, that *they must know very little of the world indeed, if they imagined any prudent man would raise the price of a commodity, by publicly avowing his intentions of becoming a purchaser.* It is Aulus Gellius who gives us this story, which Dr Middleton supposes he might have picked up from some spurious collection of Cicero's jokes; and many such, it is certain, were handed about, even in Cicero's life-time. As every reader of taste and learning must wish well to the moral character of so invaluable an author as Cicero, one cannot but regret, that neither his own general regard to truth, nor the plea of his ingenious advocate, seem sufficient to discredit this piece of secret history. That Cicero was capable of denying facts, where it was not for his advantage they should be discovered, will appear, perhaps, beyond controversy, in the progress of these remarks. In the mean time, a very strong instance of this may be produced from one of his letters to Atticus. Cicero had written an invective against some person, whose interest he had occasion to make use of in the affair of his restoration. This piece of satire had stolen into the world, it seems, without his knowledge; but as he never had any formal quarrel with the man against whom it was levelled, and as it was drawn up in a style by no means equal to the usual correctness of his performances, it might easily, he tells Atticus, be proved not to have come from his hand: *puto posse probari non esse meam.* The truth

this sort of patriots are all disposed to exclude me from their society; and whilst I am the aversion of some of them, as the avowed avenger of conspiracies, others suspect that I only plead poverty with a view of gaining their confidence, in order to betray them. They think it incredible, indeed, that the man who rescued the bags of all the usurers in Rome from a general attack, should ever be in distress for money.* The truth of the matter is, there is enough to be raised at six per cent. and I

of it is, sincerity does not seem to have been the virtue upon which Cicero was very solicitous of establishing his character. Thus, Plutarch assures us, that our author having made a speech in public, full of the highest encomiums on Crassus, he did not scruple a few days afterwards to reverse the panegyric, and represent him before the same audience in all the darkest colours of his invective. Cicero being reminded, upon this occasion, of his former harangue, very gravely replied, "it was only by way of an oratori-" cal exercise, and in order to try the force of his eloquence "upon so bad a subject." *Aul. Gell.* xii. 12. See *Life of Cic.* i. 259. 8*vo. Ed. Ad Att.* iii. 12. *Plut. in vit. Cicer.*

* The chief of those who engaged in Catiline's rebellion, were men of the same desperate fortunes as himself; *Quicunque bona patria laceraverat*, says the historian of this conspiracy, *quicunque alienum æs grande conflaverat*, were the worthy associates of Catiline in this infamous enterprise; and though liberty was, as usual, the pretence, the true motive of their taking up arms was, in order to make war upon their creditors. *Sallust. Bell. Cat.* 14.

have gained this much, by the services I have done my country, that I am considered by your money-lenders, at least, as a *good* man.

I must not forget to mention, that I have lately looked over your house and buildings, and am much pleased with the improvements you are making.

Notwithstanding all the world is sensible, that Antonius has by no means acted towards me with the gratitude he ought, yet it did not prevent me from being his advocate lately in the senate: when, by the influence of my authority, and the force of what I said, I greatly disposed the house in his favour.* I will only add my wishes, that you would write to me oftener. Farewell.

* The question in this debate probably turned on the recal of Antonius; a question, which seems either to have been carried in his favour, or to have been dropped during a considerable time. For it appears, by a letter to Atticus, written two years after the date of the present, that Antonius was still in his government; and Dion Cassius assures us, that he was not brought upon his trial till the consulate of Cæsar; that is, not till the year of Rome 694. He was then arraigned for his ill-conduct in Macedonia, and as being concerned likewise in Catiline's conspiracy. This last article of the impeachment could not be proved; but the truth of it, nevertheless, was generally believed: however, he was convicted of the former, and condemned to perpetual banishment. Cicero appeared as his advocate upon this occasion; and it was an occasion which contributed more, perhaps, than any other, to his future misfor-

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 695.]

TO TERENTIA, TO MY DEAREST TULLIA, AND TO MY SON.*

If you do not hear from me so frequently as you might, it is because I can neither write to you, nor

tunes. For, in the warmth of his speech, he indiscreetly threw out some reflections upon Cæsar; which, although that great master of his passions did not think proper at that time openly to resent, it is probable he never forgave. Dion Cassius, at least, informs us, that it was upon this account he secretly instigated Clodius to those violent measures which soon afterwards terminated in Cicero's exile. *Ad Att.* ii. 2. *Dio* xxxvii. See the last note on the preceding letter.

* There is an interval of two years between the date of this and the foregoing letter; the correspondence which Cicero carried on during the intermediate period being entirely lost, except that which he held with Atticus. The following letters to Terentia were written in our author's exile; and will prove, either that Cicero was a philosopher only in speculation, or that philosophy itself pretends to more than it has power to perform. Perhaps they will prove both; for as, on the one hand, they discover the most unmanly dejection of spirit; so it is certain, on the other, that much weaker minds have been able, with the assistance of better principles, to support, with fortitude, far severer trials. Those in which Cicero was at present exercised, were occasioned by Clodius, who procured him-

read your letters, without falling into a greater passion of tears than I am able to support; for though I am at all times, indeed, completely miserable, yet I feel my misfortunes with a particular sensibility upon those tender occasions.

Oh! that I had been more indifferent to life! Our days would then have been, if not wholly unacquainted with sorrow, yet by no means thus wretched. However, if any hopes are still reserved to us of recovering some part at least of what we have lost, I shall not think that I have made altogether so imprudent a choice. But, if our present fate is unalterably fixed---Ah! my dearest Terentia, if we are utterly and for ever abandoned by

self to be elected tribune, with the single view of destroying this his avowed adversary. It has already been observed, in the last note on the third letter of this book, that Cicero, in his consulate, had put to death some of the conspirators concerned with Catiline, without any formal trial, and upon no other authority than a decree of the senate. And it was upon this charge that Clodius founded his impeachment. Cicero's conduct, upon this occasion, has also been arraigned by a late very accurate and judicious historian; and it must be acknowledged, that, as far as we can be competent judges of it at this distance from the time and scene of action, it seems to have been attended with some circumstances not easily reconcileable to the principles either of justice, or good policy.—*See* HOOK's *Rom. Hist.* Vol. iii. p. 316.

those gods whom you have so religiously adored, and by those men whom I have so faithfully served, let me see you as soon as possible, that I may have the satisfaction of breathing out my last departing sigh in your arms.

I have spent about a fortnight at this place,* with my friend Marcus Flaccus. This worthy man did not scruple to exercise the rites of friendship and hospitality towards me, notwithstanding the severe penalties of that iniquitous law against those who should venture to give me reception.† May I one day have it in my power to make him a return to those generous services, which I shall ever most gratefully remember!

I am just going to embark, and purpose to pass through Macedonia in my way to Cyzicum,‡ And

* Brundisium, a maritime town in the kingdom of Naples, now called *Brindisi*. Cicero, when he first withdrew from Rome, intended to have retired into Sicily, but being denied entrance by the governor of that island, he changed his direction, and came to Brundisium, in his way to Greece.—*Pro Planc.* 40. 41.

† As soon as Cicero had withdrawn from Rome, Clodius procured a law, which, among other articles, enacted, that "no person should presume to harbour or receive him "on pain of death."—*Life of Cic.* i. 354.

‡ A considerable town in an island of the Propontis, which lay so close to the continent of Asia, as to be joined with it by a bridge.

now, my Terentia, thus wretched and ruined as I am, can I entreat you, under all that weight of pain and sorrow with which, I too well know, you are oppressed, can I entreat you to be the partner and companion of my exile? But must I then live without you? I know not how to reconcile myself to that hard condition; unless your presence at Rome may be a mean of forwarding my return; if any hopes of that kind should indeed subsist. But should there, as I sadly suspect, be absolutely none, come to me, I conjure you, if it be possible: for never can I think myself completely ruined, whilst I shall enjoy my Terentia's company. But how will my dearest daughter dispose of herself? A question which you yourselves must consider; for as to my own part, I am utterly at a loss what to advise. At all events, however, that dear unhappy girl must not take any measures that may injure her conjugal repose,* or affect her in the good opinion of the world. As for my son,---let me not at least be deprived of the consolation of folding him for ever in my arms. But I must lay down my pen a few moments: my tears flow too fast to suffer me to proceed.

* Tullia was at this time married to Caius Piso Frugi; a young nobleman of one of the best families in Rome. See letter ix. of this book.

I am under the utmost solicitude, as I know not whether you have been able to preserve any part of your estate, or (what I sadly fear) are cruelly robbed of your whole fortune. I hope Piso* will always continue, what you represent him to be, entirely ours. As to the manumission of the slaves, I think you have no occasion to be uneasy. For, with regard to your own, you only promised them their liberty as they should deserve it; but, excepting Orpheus, there are none of them that have any great claim to this favour. As to mine, I told them, if my estate should be forfeited, I would give them their freedom, provided I could obtain the confirmation of that grant; but if I preserved my estate, that they should all of them, excepting only a few whom I particularly named, remain in their present condition. But this is a matter of little consequence.

With regard to the advice you give me, of keeping up my spirits, in the belief that I shall again be restored to my country, I only wish that I may have reason to encourage so desirable an expectation. In the mean time, I am greatly miserable, in the uncertainty when I shall hear from you, or what hand you will find to convey your letters. I would have waited for them at this place; but the

* Cicero's son-in-law, mentioned in the last note.

master of the ship, on which I am going to embark, could not be prevailed upon to lose the present opportunity of sailing.

For the rest, let me conjure you, in my turn, to bear up under the pressure of our afflictions with as much resolution as possible. Remember that my days have all been honourable; and that I now suffer, not for my crimes, but my virtues. No, my Terentia, nothing can justly be imputed to me, but that I survived the loss of my dignities. However, if it was more agreeable to our children that I should thus live, let that reflection teach us to submit to our misfortunes with cheerfulness; insupportable as upon all other considerations they would undoubtedly be. But, alas! whilst I am endeavouring to keep up your spirits, I am utterly unable to preserve my own!

I have sent back the faithful Philetærus, as the weakness of his eyes made him incapable of rendering me any service. Nothing can equal the good offices I receive from Sallustius. Pescennius, likewise, has given me strong marks of his affection; and I hope he will not fail in his respect also to you. Sica promised to attend me in my exile, but he changed his mind, and has left me at this place.

I intreat you to take all possible care of your health, and be assured your misfortunes more sen-

sibly affect me than my own. Adieu, my Terentia, thou most faithful and best of wives! adieu. And thou, my dearest daughter, together with that other consolation of my life, my dear son, I bid you both most tenderly farewell.

Brundisium, April the 30th.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 695.]

TO TERENTIA, TO MY DEAREST TULLIA, AND TO MY SON.

Imagine not, my Terentia, that I write longer letters to others than to yourself: be assured, at least, if ever I do, it is merely because those I receive from them require a more particular answer. The truth of it is, I am always at a loss what to write; and as there is nothing in the present dejection of my mind, that I perform with greater reluctance in general; so I never attempt it with regard to you and my dearest daughter, that it does not cost me a flood of tears. For how can I think of you without being pierced with grief, in the reflection, that I have made those completely miserable, whom I ought, and wished, to have rendered perfectly happy? And I should have rendered them so, if I had acted with less timidity.

Piso's behaviour towards us in this season of our afflictions, has greatly endeared him to my heart; and I have, as well as I was able in the present discomposure of my mind, both acknowledged his good offices, and exhorted him to continue them.

I perceive you depend much upon the new tribunes; and if Pompey perseveres in his present disposition, I am inclined to think that your hopes will not be disappointed; though, I must confess, I have some fears with respect to Crassus. In the mean while, I have the satisfaction to find, what, indeed, I had reason to expect, that you act with great spirit and tenderness in all my concerns. But I lament it should be my cruel fate to expose you to so many calamities, whilst you are thus generously endeavouring to ease the weight of mine. Be assured, it was with the utmost grief I read the account which Publius sent me, of the opprobrious manner in which you were dragged from the temple of Vesta to the office of Valerius.* Sad reverse indeed! that thou, the dearest object of my fondest desires, that my Terentia, to whom such numbers were wont to look up for relief, should be herself a spectacle of the most affecting distress! and that I,

* Terentia had taken sanctuary in the temple of Vesta, but was forcibly dragged out from thence by the directions of Clodius, in order to be examined at a public office concerning her husband's effects.—*Mr Ross.*

who have saved so many others from ruin, should have ruined both myself and my family by my own indiscretion!

As to what you mention, with regard to the area belonging to my house, I shall never look upon myself as restored to my country, till that spot of ground is again in my possession.* But this is a point that does not depend upon ourselves. Let me rather express my concern for what does, and lament, that, distressed as your circumstances already are, you should engage yourself in a share of those expences which are incurred upon my account. Be assured, if ever I should return to Rome, I shall easily recover my estate; but should fortune continue to persecute me, will you, thou dear unhappy woman, will you fondly throw away, in gaining friends to a desperate cause, the last scanty remains of your broken fortunes! I conjure you then, my dearest Terentia, not to involve yourself in any charges of that kind: let them be borne by those who are able, if they are willing, to support the weight. In a word, if you have any affection for me, let not your anxiety upon my account injure

* After Clodius had procured the law against Cicero, already taken notice of, he consecrated the area where his house in Rome stood, to the perpetual service of religion, and erected a temple upon it to the goddess Liberty. *Life of Cic.*

your health: which, alas! is already but too much impaired. Believe me, you are the perpetual subject of my waking and sleeping thoughts: and, as I know the assiduity you exert in my behalf, I have a thousand fears lest your strength should not be equal to so continued a fatigue. I am sensible, at the same time, that my affairs depend entirely upon your assistance; and therefore, that they may be attended with the success you hope, and so zealously endeavour to obtain, let me earnestly entreat you to take care of your health.

I know not whom to write to, unless to those who first write to me, or whom you particularly mention in your letters. As you and Tullia are of opinion that I should not retreat farther from Italy, I have laid aside that design. Let me hear from you both as often as possible, particularly if there should be any fairer prospect of my return. Farewell, ye dearest objects of my most tender affection, farewell!

Thessalonica,* Oct. the 5th.

* A city in Macedonia, now called *Salonichi*.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 695.]

TO TERENTIA, TO MY DEAREST TULLIA, AND TO MY SON.

I LEARN, by the letters of several of my friends, as well as from general report, that you discover the greatest fortitude of mind, and that you solicit my affairs with unwearied application. Oh, my Terentia! how truly wretched am I, to be the occasion of such severe misfortunes to so faithful, so generous, and so excellent a woman! And my dearest Tullia too!---That she, who was once so happy in her father, should now derive from him such bitter sorrows! But how shall I express the anguish I feel for my little boy! who became acquainted with grief as soon as he was capable of any reflection.* Had these afflictions happened, as you tenderly represent them, by an unavoidable fate, they would have sat less heavy on my heart. But they are altogether owing to my own folly, in imagining I was loved where I was secretly en-

* Cicero's son was at this time about eight years of age. *Manut.*

vied,* and in not joining with those who were sincerely desirous of my friendship.† Had I been governed, indeed, by my own sentiments, without relying so much on those of my weak or wicked advisers, we might still, my Terentia, have been happy.‡ However, since my friends encourage me to

* The persons to whom he alludes, are, Hortensius, Arrius, and others of that party, who (if we may believe Cicero's complaints to Atticus) took advantage of his fears, and advised him to withdraw from Rome on purpose to ruin him. But persons under misfortunes are apt to be suspicious, and are frequently therefore unjust; as Cicero seems to have been with respect to Hortensius at least, who does not appear to have merited his reproaches.—*Ad Att.* iii. 9. 14. *Ad Q. F.* i. 3. See *Mongault's Remarks*, ii. 44.

† Cæsar and Crassus frequently solicited Cicero to unite himself to their party; promising to protect him from the outrages of Clodius, provided he would fall in with their measures.—*Life of Cic.* i. 288. 315. 8vo Ed.

‡ Cicero is perpetually reproaching himself in these letters to Terentia, and in those which he wrote at the same time to Atticus, for not having taken up arms, and resolutely withstood the violences of Clodius. He afterwards, however, in several of his speeches, made a merit of what he here so strongly condemns, and particularly in that for Sextius, he appeals to Heaven, in the most solemn manner, that he submitted to a voluntary exile in order to spare the blood of his fellow-citizens, and preserve the public tranquillity. *Te, te, patria, testor*, (says he) *et vos penates patriique Dii, me vestrarum sedum templorumque causa, me propter salutem meorum civium, quæ mihi semper fuit mea carior vita, dimi-*

hope, I will endeavour to restrain my grief, lest the effect it may have upon my health should disappoint your tender efforts for my restoration. I am sensible, at the same time, of the many difficulties

cationem cædemque fugisse. But Cicero's veracity, in this solemn asseveration, seems liable to be justly questioned. It is certain, that he once entertained a design of taking up arms in his own defence; and the single motive that appears to have determined him in the change of this resolution, was, his finding himself most perfidiously deserted by Pompey, *Si—quisquam fuisset* (says he, in a letter to Atticus) *qui me Pompeii minus liberali responso perterritum* a turpissimo consilio *revocaret;—aut occubuissem honeste, aut victores hodie viveremus.* iii. 15. Dion Cassius asserts, that Cicero, notwithstanding this unexpected desertion of Pompey, was preparing to put himself in a posture of defence; but that Cato and Hortensius would not suffer him to execute his purpose: επεχειρησε μεν οπλα αρασθαι, κωλυθεις δε υπο τε τυ Κατονος και τυ Ορτησιυ &c. Lib. 38. Perhaps this author may be mistaken as to his having actually made any formal preparations of this kind; but that he had it in his intentions, seems clear beyond all reasonable contradiction. The French historian of our author's banishment, has relied, therefore, too much upon Cicero's pompous professions after his return, when he maintains, that nothing could be farther from his thoughts than a serious opposition.—*Hist. de l'exile de Cicer.* p. 148. The contrary appears most evidently to have been the case; and that the patriot-motive, which he so often assigns in his subsequent orations for leaving his country, was merely an afterthought, and the plausible colouring of artful eloquence.

that must be conquered ere that point can be effected; and that it would have been much easier to have maintained my post, than it is to recover it. Nevertheless, if all the tribunes are in my interest; if Lentulus is really as zealous in my cause as he appears; and if Pompey and Cæsar likewise concur with him in the same views, I ought not, most certainly, to despair.

With regard to our slaves, I am willing to act as

Why else, it may be asked, is there not the least hint of any such generous principle of his conduct in all the letters he wrote during this period? Why else is he perpetually reproaching his friends for having suffered him to take that measure? And why, in a word, does he call it, as in the passage above cited, *turpissimum consilium*, the effect of a most ignominious resolution? But were it to be admitted, that a regard to his country determined him to withdraw from it; still, however, he could not, with any degree of truth, boast of his patriotism upon that occasion; for the most partial of his advocates must acknowledge, that he no sooner executed this resolution, than he heartily repented of it. The truth is, how unwilling soever he might be to hazard the peace of his country in maintaining his post, he was ready to renounce all tenderness of that kind in recovering it; and he expressly desires Atticus to raise the mob in his favour, if there were any hopes of making a successful push for his restoration: *Oro te ut, si quæ spes erit posse studiis bonorum, auctoritate*, multitudine comparata, *rem confici, des operam ut uno impetu perfringatur.* Ad Att. iii. 23.

our friends, you tell me, advise. As to your concern in respect to the plague which broke out here, it is entirely ceased; and I had the good fortune to escape all infection. However, it was my desire to have changed my present situation for some more retired place in Epirus, where I might be secure from Piso and his soldiers.* But the obliging Plancius was unwilling to p rt with me; and still indeed detains me here, in the hope that we may return together to Rome.† If ever I should live to see that happy day; if ever I should be restored to my Terentia, to my children, and to myself, I shall think all the tender solicitudes we have suffered, during this sad separation, abundantly repaid.

* Lucius Calphurnius Piso, who was consul this year with Gabinius: They were both the professed enemies of Cicero, and supported Clodius in his violent measures. The province of Macedonia had fallen to the former, and he was now preparing to set out for his government, where his troops were daily arriving. Cicero has delineated the characters at large of these consuls in several of his orations; but he has, in two words, given the most odious picture of them that exasperated eloquence, perhaps, ever drew, where he calls them *duo reipublicæ portenta ac pæne funera*: an expression for which modern language can furnish no equivalent.—*De prov. consul.* See Book ii. let. 17. and Book vii. let. 3.

† Plancius was, at this time, quæstor in Macedonia, and distinguished himself by many generous offices to Cicero in his exile.—*Pro Planc. passim.*—See Book viii. let. 2.

Nothing can exceed the affection and humanity of Piso's * behaviour towards every one of us; and I wish he may receive from it as much satisfaction as, I am persuaded, he will honour. I was far from intending to blame you with respect to my brother; but it is much my desire, especially as there are so few of you, that you should live together in the most perfect harmony.---I have made my acknowledgments where you desired, and acquainted the persons you mention, that you had informed me of their services.

As to the estate you propose to sell; alas! my dear Terentia, think well of the consequence: think what would become of our unhappy boy, should fortune still continue to persecute us. But my eyes stream too fast to suffer me to add more; nor would I draw the same tender flood from yours. I will only say, that if my friends should not desert me, I shall be in no distress for money; and if they should, the money you can raise by the sale of this estate will little avail. I conjure you then, by all our misfortunes, let us not absolutely ruin our poor boy, who is well nigh totally undone already. If we can but raise him above indigence, a moderate share of good fortune and merit will be sufficient to open his way to whatever else we can wish him

* Cicero's son-in-law.

to obtain. Take care of your health, and let me know, by an express, how your negotiations proceed, and how affairs in general stand.---My fate must now be soon determined. I tenderly salute my son and daughter, and bid you all farewell.

Dyrrachium,* November 26.

P. S. I came hither, not only as it is a free city,† and much in my interest, but as it is situated likewise near Italy.‡ But if I should find any inconvenience from its being a town of such great resort, I shall remove elsewhere, and give you due notice.

* A city in Macedonia, now called *Durazzo*, in the Turkish dominions. This letter, though dated from Dyrrachium, appears to have been wholly written, except the postscript, at Thessalonica.

† That is, a city which had the privilege, though in the dominions of the Roman republic, to be governed by its own laws.

‡ Besides the reasons here mentioned, there was another and much stronger, which induced Cicero to leave Thessalonica; for he had received intelligence that Piso's troops were approaching towards that city.—*Ad Att.* iii. 22.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 695.]

TO TERENTIA.

I RECEIVED three letters from you by the hands of Aristocritus, and have wept over them till they are almost defaced with my tears. Ah! my Terentia, I am worn out with grief: nor do my own personal misfortunes more severely torture my mind, than those with which you and my children are oppressed. Unhappy, indeed, as you are, I am still infinitely more so; as our common afflictions are attended with this aggravating circumstance to myself, that they are justly to be imputed to my imprudence alone. I ought, most undoubtedly, either to have avoided the danger, by accepting the commission* which was offered me; or to have repelled force by force, or bravely to have perished in

* As it answered Cæsar's purposes either to gain Cicero, or to ruin him, he artfully laid his measures for both. And accordingly, after having instigated Clodius to pursue Cicero, he offered to take him into Gaul in the quality of his lieutenant, as a means of protecting him from that vengeance he had secretly inflamed. But Cicero being more disposed to try his strength with his adversary, imprudently declined the proposal. *Dio*, xxxvii. *Ad Att.* ii. 18. 19.

the attempt. Whereas nothing could have been more unworthy of my character, or more pregnant with misery, than the scheme I have pursued.* I am overwhelmed, therefore, not only with sorrow, but with shame: yes, my Terentia, I blush to reflect, that I did not exert that spirit I ought for the sake of so excellent a wife and such amiable children. The distress in which you are all equally involved, and your own ill state of health in particular, are ever in my thoughts; as I have the mortification, at the same time, to observe, that there appear but slender hopes of my being recalled. My enemies are many; while those who are jealous of me are almost innumerable; and though they found great difficulty in driving me from my country, it will be extremely easy for them to prevent my return. However, as long as you have any hopes that my restoration may be effected, I will not cease to co-operate with your endeavours for that purpose; lest my weakness should seem, upon all occasions, to frustrate every measure in my favour. In the mean while, my person (for which you are so tenderly concerned) is secure from all danger; as, in truth, I am so completely wretched, that even my enemies themselves must wish, in mere malice, to preserve my life. Never-

* See p. 37. note.

theless, I shall not fail to observe the caution you kindly give me.

I have sent my acknowledgments by Dexippus to the persons you desired me, and mentioned, at the same time, that you had informed me of their good offices. I am perfectly sensible of those which Piso exerts towards us with so uncommon a zeal; and, indeed, it is a circumstance which all the world speaks of to his honour. Heaven grant I may live to enjoy, with you and our children, the common happiness of so valuable a relation! *

The only hope I have now left, arises from the new tribunes; and that, too, depends upon the steps they shall take in the commencement of their office; for if they should postpone my affair, I shall give up all expectations of its ever being effected. Accordingly I have dispatched Aristocritus, that

* He had the great misfortune to be disappointed of this wish; for Piso died soon after this letter was written. Cicero mentions him in several parts of his writings with the highest gratitude and esteem. He represents him as a young nobleman of the greatest talents and application, who devoted his whole time to the improvement of his mind, and the exercise of eloquence; as one whose moral qualifications were no less extraordinary than his intellectual, and, in short, as possessed of every accomplishment, and every virtue, that could endear him to his friends, to his family, and to the public.—*Pro Sext.* 31. *De clar. orator.* 271. *Ad Quirites,* iii.

you may send me immediate notice of the first measures they shall pursue, together with the general plan upon which they propose to conduct themselves. I have likewise ordered Dexippus to return to me with all expedition, and have written to my brother to request he would give me frequent information in what manner affairs proceed. It is with a view of receiving the earliest intelligence from Rome that I continue at Dyrrachium; a place where I can remain in perfect security, as I have, upon all occasions, distinguished this city by my particular patronage. However, as soon as I shall receive intimation that my enemies* are approaching, it is my resolution to retire into Epirus.

In answer to your tender proposal of accompanying me in my exile, I rather choose you should continue in Rome; as I am sensible it is upon you that the principal burthen of my affairs must rest. If your generous negotiations should succeed, my return will prevent the necessity of that journey; if otherwise——But I need not add the rest. The next letter I shall receive from you, or at most the subsequent one, will determine me in what manner to act. In the mean time, I desire you would give me a full and faithful information how things go on; though, indeed, I have now more reason to ex-

* The troops of Piso. See p. 40. note.

pect the final result of this affair, than an account of its progress.

Take care of your health, I conjure you; assuring yourself, that you are, as you ever have been, the object of my fondest wishes. Farewell, my dear Terentia! I see you so strongly before me whilst I am writing, that I am utterly spent with the tears I have shed. Once more, farewell.*

Dyrrachium, Nov. the 30th.

* "This great man, who had been the saviour of his "country, who had feared, in the support of that cause, "neither the insults of a desperate party, nor the daggers "of assassins; when he came to suffer for the same cause, "sunk under the weight. He dishonoured that banishment, "which indulgent Providence meant to be the means of "rendering his glory complete. Uncertain where he should "go, or what he should do, fearful as a woman, and fro-"ward as a child, he lamented the loss of his rank, of his "riches, and of his splendid popularity. His eloquence "served only to paint his misery in stronger colours. He "wept over the ruins of his fine house, which Clodius had "demolished; and his separation from Terentia, whom he "repudiated not long afterwards, was, perhaps, an afflic-"tion to him at this time. Every thing becomes intolerable "to the man who is once subdued by grief. He regrets "what he took no pleasure in enjoying, and, overloaded "already, he shrinks at the weight of a feather. Cicero's "behaviour, in short, was such, that his friends, as well as "his enemies, believed him to have lost his senses. Cæsar "beheld, with a secret satisfaction, the man who had re-

LETTER X.

[A. U. 696.]

TO QUINTUS METELLUS NEPOS, THE CONSUL.*

THE letters I received, both from my brother and my friend Atticus, strongly encouraged me to hope, that you were not less disposed than your colleague to favour my recal. In consequence of this persuasion, I immediately wrote to you in terms suitable to my present unfortunate circumstances; acknowledging my grateful sense of your generous intentions, and entreating your future assistance. But I afterwards learned, not indeed so much by any hint of this kind from my friends, as from the report of those who passed this way, that you did

" fused to be his lieutenant, weeping under the rod of Clo-
" dius. Pompey hoped to find some excuse for his own in-
" gratitude, in the contempt which his friend, whom he had
" abandoned, exposed himself to. Nay, Atticus judged him
" too nearly attached to his former fortune, and reproach-
" ed him for it. Atticus, even Atticus, blushed for Tully,
" and the most plausible man alive assumed the style of
" Cato."—*Boling. Reflect. on Exile*, p. 253.

* This is the same person, who, when he was tribune, gave occasion, by his ill-treatment of Cicero, to the second and third letters of this book. He was now consul with Publius Cornelius Lentulus.

not continue in the same favourable sentiments; * for which reason, I would not venture to importune you any farther. My brother, however, having transmitted me a copy of the speech you lately made in the senate, I found it animated with such a spirit of candour and moderation, that I was induced to write to you once more. Let me earnestly request you then, to consider rather the interests than the passions of your family, † lest, by falling in with their unjust and cruel opposition to me, you should open a way by which they themselves may be oppressed in their turn. Is it possible, indeed, that you, who gained such a glorious conquest over yourself, as to sacrifice your own private enmities ‡ to the welfare of the republic, should be

* Whilst the friends of Cicero were exerting their endeavours to procure his restoration, Clodius was opposing their designs by every method of artifice and violence; in which he was protected by Metellus, notwithstanding he had given intimations of a disposition to favour Cicero's interest.—*Life of Cic.* i. 408. 8vo Edit.

† Clodius was cousin to Metellus.—*Post red. in sen.* 10.

‡ The first step that Lentulus took when he entered upon the administration of his office, was, to move the senate, that Cicero might be recalled. Upon which occasion, his colleague Metellus made the concession to which Cicero seems here to allude; declaring, that he was willing to sacrifice his private resentment against Cicero, to the general inclinations of the senate and the people. Nevertheless, he still

prevailed upon to add strength to a resentment in others which evidently tends to its destruction? If you think proper, then, to afford me your assistance in this conjuncture, you may, upon all occasions, depend on my utmost services in return. On the other hand, should that lawless violence, which has wounded the commonwealth through my side, be suffered still to prevail, it imports you to reflect, whether, if you should hereafter be inclined to recal the opportunity of preserving our general liberties, you will not have the misfortune of finding it much too late.* Farewell.

continued to support Clodius, as has been already observed in the note above. *Pro Sext.* 32. *post red. in sen.* iv. See Letter 17. Book ii.

* Notwithstanding that Pompey, Cæsar, and indeed all the principal persons of the republic, now concurred in favouring Cicero's return, yet the practices of Clodius prevented a decree for that purpose, till the 1st of June.—Nor was it till the 4th of August following, that this decree passed into a general law; in consequence of which, Cicero soon afterwards made his triumphant entry into Rome. Metellus joined in procuring this decree: a change of sentiments which Cicero imputed to a most pathetic speech which Servilius Isauricus delivered in the senate upon this occasion, and which so softened Metellus, it seems, that he melted into tears. But the true cause is more probably to be ascribed to the influence of Cæsar and Pompey; who, in order to mortify Clodius, whose power now began to be

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 696.]

TO FABIUS GALLUS.*

I HAVE been attacked with a disorder in my bowels, which continued with great violence during ten days; but as it was not attended with a fever, I could not persuade those who had occasion for my services, that I was really indisposed. In order, therefore, to avoid their importunities, I retired to Tusculanum; having observed so strict an abstinence for two days before, as not to have tasted even a drop of water. Reduced then as I am by my illness and my fasting, I had more reason to hope for a visit from you, than to imagine you expected one from me.

Distempers of every kind I greatly dread, but particularly of that sort for which the Stoics have censured your favourite Epicurus, where he com-

troublesome to them, thought it convenient, for their purposes, that Cicero should be restored.—*Pro Sext.* 31. 62. *Ad Quir.* 7.

* Gallus is only known by three or four letters which Cicero has addressed to him; from which, however, nothing particular can be collected concerning his history or character.

plains* of being violently afflicted with the dysentery and the strangury; as the former, they assert, is the consequence of table indulgencies, and the latter of a more shameful intemperance. I had, indeed, great reason to apprehend a dysentery; but whether it be from change of air, or a relaxation from business, or that the distemper had almost spent itself, I know not; but I am somewhat better since I came hither. You will wonder, perhaps, what excesses I have been guilty of, to bring upon myself this disorder. I must inform you then, that I owe it to the frugal regulations of the sumptuary law.† The products of the earth being excepted out of the restrictions of that act, our elegant eaters, in order to bring vegetables into fashion, have found out a method of dressing them in so high a taste, that nothing can be more palatable. It was immediately after having eaten very freely of a dish of this sort, at the inauguration feast of

* In a letter which he wrote during his last sickness: a translation of which is given us by Cicero, in his treatise. *De Finibus*, ii. 31.

† Manutius conjectures, that the law alluded to is one which is ascribed by Aulus Gellius to Marcus Lucinius Crassus, and which passed in the year of Rome 643. By this law the expences of the table were regulated, both in regard to ordinary and extraordinary occasions, with the express exception mentioned by Cicero in the next sentence, concerning the article of vegetables. *Vid. Aul. Gell.* ii. 24.

Lentulus,* that I was seized with a diarrhœa, which has never ceased till this day. Thus, you see, that I, who have withstood all the temptations that the noblest lampreys and oysters could throw in my way, have at last been overpowered by paltry beets and mallows; but it has taught me, however, to be more cautious for the future. As Anicius found me in one of my sick fits, you must undoubtedly have heard of my illness; I was in hopes, therefore, you would not have contented yourself with inquiring after my welfare, but would have given me the satisfaction of a visit. I purpose to continue here, till I shall have re-established my health; for I am extremely weakened and emaciated. But if I can once get the better of my disorder, I hope I shall find no difficulty in recovering all the rest. Farewell.

* He was son of Publius Cornelius Lentulus, one of the consuls of the present year, to whom the next letter, and several of the following ones in this and the subsequent book, are written. He gave this entertainment on occasion of his being chosen a member of the college of augurs. *Manut.*

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 697.]

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS, PROCONSUL.*

I FIND it much easier to satisfy the world than myself, in those sacred offices of friendship I exert

* Publius Lentulus was consul together with Quintus Metellus Nepos, A. U. 696, the year before this letter was written. During his administration of that office, he distinguished himself by his zeal in promoting Cicero's recal from banishment; which, after many difficulties thrown in the way by Clodius, he at length effected. At the expiration of his consulate, he succeeded to the government of Cilicia, one of the most considerable provinces in Asia Minor, now called Carmania; and the following correspondence was carried on with him whilst he continued in that province. Cæsar had, upon many important occasions, given him very signal instances of his friendship, particularly in gaining him an entrance into the pontifical college; in procuring him the province of lower Spain, after he had passed through the office of prætor; and by assisting him in obtaining the consulship. Yet these obligations were not so powerful in the sentiments of Lentulus, as to supersede those more important ones which he owed to his country. Accordingly, he opposed the illegal and dangerous demands of Cæsar, with great warmth and indignation in the senate; and, upon the breaking out of the civil war, joined himself with Pompey. He steadily persevered in following the

in your behalf. Numberless, indeed, are the obligations you have conferred upon me; and as you persevered with unwearied zeal, till you had effected my recal from exile, I esteem it the greatest mortification of my life, that I cannot act in your affairs with the same success. The truth is, Ammonius, who resides here as ambassador from Ptolemy,* defeats all my schemes by the most shameless

cause and the fortune of that unhappy chief, notwithstanding Cæsar generously gave him his life and his liberty, when he fell into his hands upon the surrender of Corfinium. For, it appears, by a letter in this collection, that he was afterwards at the battle of Pharsalia, from whence he fled with Pompey to Rhodes, and this is the farthest we can trace him. He is mentioned by Cicero among the celebrated orators of his age; though his merit of this kind was, it seems, more owing to his acquired, than his natural talents. *Cæs. B. C.* i. *Plut. in Cæs. Cic. Ep. Fam.* xii. 14. *Cic. de opt. gen. dic.*

* King of Egypt, and father of the celebrated Cleopatra. He was surnamed *Auletes*, in allusion to his skill in playing upon a certain musical instrument called by the Greeks *Aulos*. The title of this prince to his throne being precarious, he found means, by the interest of Cæsar and Pompey, to be declared an ally of the Roman republic, about two years before the date of this letter, for which piece of service they were to receive no less a reward than one million one hundred sixty-two thousand five hundred pounds. The heavy taxes Ptolemy was obliged to impose, in order to raise this immense tribute, together with other acts of

and avowed bribery, and he is supplied with money for this purpose, from the same quarter as when you were in Rome. The party in the king's interest, (though their number, it must be owned, is inconsiderable,) are all desirous that Pompey may be employed to re-instate him in his dominions. The senate, on the other hand, fall in with the pre-

tyranny and oppression, occasioned such a general discontent among his people, that they took up arms, and drove him out of Egypt. In this exigency he had recourse to the republic, in virtue of the alliance just mentioned. His subjects likewise sent an embassy to Rome, composed of an hundred of their principal citizens, to plead their cause before the senate; but Ptolemy having notice of this deputation, procured part of them to be assassinated on their way thither; others as soon as they arrived; and the rest he silenced by proper applications to their fears and their avarice. This, together with his immense and open profusion among the venal part of the republic, rendered him generally detested at Rome; insomuch, that notwithstanding he was zealously supported by Pompey, who actually obtained a decree in his favour, yet the opposition was so strong, that the senate, after various debates, thought proper to let the affair wholly drop. His last resource, therefore, was to apply himself to Gabinius, proconsul of Syria. Accordingly, Gabinius, upon the promise of 10,000 talents, and at the recommendation of Pompey, boldly undertook, and effected, his restoration, without being authorised by any legal commission for that purpose. *Dio.* xxxix. *Liv. Epit.* 105. *Cic. Orat. in Pison.* See Book ii. Let. 2. note.

tended oracle;* not, indeed, as giving any credit to its predictions, but as being in general ill-inclined to this prince, and detesting his most corrupt

* Caius Cato, a relation of the celebrated M. Portius Cato, who killed himself at Utica, was in the number of those who most strenuously opposed the restoration of Ptolemy. He was a young man of a turbulent and enterprising disposition, which he supported with some degree of eloquence. This, at least, is the character which Fenestella gives of him, as that annalist is cited by Nonius; but if he was never engaged in an opposition less reasonable than the present, history has not done him justice. Among other expedients which he employed to obstruct the designs of those who favoured Ptolemy, he had recourse to a prophecy which he pretended to have found in the Sibylline books, and which contained a severe denunciation against the state, if the Romans assisted a king of Egypt with their troops in recovering his throne. This had, in some measure, its desired effect; for the senate, (which in general was in the same sentiments, as to this point, with Cato,) voted it dangerous to the interests of the republic, to employ any force in favour of Ptolemy.

The Sibyls were certain supposed prophetesses, concerning whom there is a great variety of opinions; historians being by no means agreed as to their number, their country, or the age in which they lived. Those who are inclined to read a very ridiculous story, may find an account in Aulus Gellius, of the manner by which the Romans are said to have possessed themselves of these oracular writings. These prophecies were carefully deposited in the Capitol, and consulted upon certain extraordinary occasions. There are

practices. In the meanwhile, I omit no opportunity of admonishing Pompey with great freedom, and conjuring him not to act such a part in this affair, as would cast the deepest stain upon his character, I must do him the justice, at the same time, to acknowledge, that, so far as his own conduct is concerned, there does not appear the least foundation for any remonstrances of this sort. On the contrary, he is perpetually expressing the highest zeal for your interest: and he lately supported it in the senate, with the utmost force of eloquence, and the strongest professions of friendship. Marcellinus,* I need not tell you, is a good deal displeased at your soliciting this commission; in all other respects, I dare venture to say, he will very strenuously promote your interest. We must be contented to take him in his own way; for I perceive it is impossible to dissuade him from proposing, that the injunctions of the oracle shall be complied with. And, in fact, he has already made several motions to that purpose.

I wrote this early on the 13th, and I will now

some ancient writings still extant, which pass under the name of the Sibylline oracles; but these oracles "seem to have "been all, from first to last, and without any exception, "mere impostures." *Ad Q. Frat.* ii. 2. *Aul. Gell.* i. 19. *Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist.* p. 284.

* One of the present consuls.

give you an account of what has hitherto passed in the senate. Both Hortensius and Lucullus agreed with me in moving, that the prohibition of the oracle should be obeyed; and, indeed, it does not seem possible to bring this matter to bear upon any other terms. But we proposed, at the same time, that, in pursuance of the decree* which was made on your own motion, you should be appointed to re-establish Ptolemy in his kingdom; the situation of your province lying so conveniently for that purpose. In a word, we consented, that the army should be given up, in deference to the oracle; but insisted, nevertheless, that you should be employed in effecting this restoration. Crassus, on the other side, was for having this commission executed by three persons, to be chosen from among our generals: and consequently he did not mean to exclude Pompey. Marcus Bibulus joined with

* Before Lentulus set out for his government, the senate had come to a resolution of assisting Ptolemy with a body of troops; and, (as has already been observed,) a decree had actually passed for that purpose. It was voted at the same time, that the consul, whose lot it should prove to administer the province of Cilicia, should be charged with this commission; and accordingly, fortune decided it in favour of Lentulus. But the artifices of Caius Cato, taken notice of in the note above, prevented this decree from being carried into execution. *Orat. pro Rabir.*

him as to the number, but thought that the persons to be nominated should not bear any military command. All the rest of the consulars were in the same sentiments, except Servilius, Afranius, and Volcatius. The first absolutely opposed our engaging in Ptolemy's restoration upon any terms whatsoever; but the two last were of opinion, that, agreeably to the motion of Lupus, this commission should be given to Pompey. This circumstance has increased the suspicion concerning the real inclinations of the latter, as his most particular friends were observed to concur with Volcatius. They are labouring this point with great assiduity; and, I fear, it will be carried against us. Libo and Hypsæus are openly soliciting for Pompey; and, in truth, the conduct of all his friends at this juncture, makes it generally believed, that he is desirous of the office. Yet the misfortune is, that those who are unwilling it should fall into his hands, are not the more inclined to place it in yours, as they are much displeased at your having contributed to the late advancement of his power.* For myself,

* Lentulus, during his consulate, proposed and carried a law in favour of Pompey, which, in effect, invested him with the whole power of the Roman empire. For, under a pretended scarcity of corn, (as some of the historians seem to represent it, though Dion Cassius, indeed, speaks of it as real,) he was commissioned to provide the republic with

I find I have the less influence in your cause, as it is supposed I am solely governed by a principle of gratitude; at the same time, the notion which pre-

that commodity, by which means, all those who were concerned in the naval, the commercial, and landed interest, either in Italy or the provinces, became his tributaries and dependents. By another law, Pompey was authorised, during the space of five years, to exercise proconsular power throughout all the Roman dominions; and it is to these extravagant grants that Cicero seems to allude. The former, indeed, of these two laws, Cicero himself very zealously promoted, in return to the services he had lately received from Pompey in the affair of his restoration. And though the latter invested that aspiring chief with a power much too exorbitant (as is intimated in a letter to Atticus) to be endured in a free state; yet Cicero suffered it to pass, without the least opposition. We learn, from his own confession, the mean motive of this unworthy silence. As the pontifical college, it seems, had not yet made their report concerning the validity of Colodius's consecration of his area, (See p. 32. note,) he thought it unsafe to withstand any of Pompey's demands, lest he might influence their decision to his prejudice: *nos tacemus, et eo magis, quod de domo nostra nihil adhuc pontifices responderunt.* Lentulus, on the other hand, was suspected of procuring these laws in view of his own designs, and in order to divert Pompey from the thoughts of being employed in re-establishing Ptolemy on his throne. Thus were the liberties of Rome sacrificed to the private purposes of her pretended patriots! *Plut. in vit. Pomp. Dio.* xxxix. *Ad Att.* iv. 1.

vails that this affair affords an opportunity of obliging Pompey, renders my applications likewise not altogether so effectual as they might otherwise prove. It is thus I am labouring in this perplexed business; which the king himself, long before you left Rome, as well as the friends and dependents of Pompey, had artfully embarrassed. To this I must add the avowed opposition I meet with from the consulars, who represent our assisting Ptolemy with an army, as a measure that would highly reflect upon the dignity of the senate. Be assured, however, I shall employ every means in my power of testifying, both to the world in general, and to your friends in particular, the sincerity of that affection I bear you. And, were there any honour in those who ought to have shewn themselves influenced by its highest and most refined principles, I should not have so many difficulties to encounter. Farewell.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 697.]

TO QUINTUS VALERIUS ORCA.*

You remember, I doubt not, that when I attended you on your way towards your province, I took occasion, in the presence of Publius Cuspius, to desire you would consider every friend of his whom I should recommend to you, as in the number of my own; and that I afterwards repeated this request in the strongest manner. You then assured me, with great generosity and politeness, and agreeably to that affectionate regard with which you have ever distinguished me, that you would comply with my request. I am to inform you, then, that Cuspius, having been twice in Africa during the time that he had the direction of the affairs of the company which farms the revenues of that province, contracted some acquaintance in that part of the world whom he greatly loves: and, as no

* He had been prætor the year before, and very instrumental in procuring Cicero's recal from exile. At the expiration of his prætorship, he obtained the government of Africa; and this letter seems to have been written to him soon after his arrival in that province. *Pigh. annal.* ii. 384.

man is more zealous to serve his friends, he very warmly espouses their interest. I am always ready to assist him, for that purpose, to the utmost of my credit and influence; which I mention as a reason for my recommending his African friends in general to your protection. For the future, therefore, I shall only acquaint you, that the person in whose behalf I may happen to write, is a friend of Cuspius; and then add the distinguishing mark we agreed upon.* But my present recommendation is of the strongest kind; as it is in compliance with the most earnest desire of Cuspius, that I entreat your good offices to Lucius Julius. If I were to request them in the terms that are usually employed in the sincerest solicitations of this nature, I should scarce satisfy, I believe, the zeal of my friend. He requires something more new and singular in the manner of my present address; and imagines I am master of a certain art, that renders me extremely well qualified for the task. I promised, therefore, to recommend his friends to you, by all the most skilful and insinuating methods of persuasion. But, as I find myself incapable of executing this promise, I can

* To distinguish those recommendations which were written merely in compliance with solicitations he could not refuse, from others that were the sincere dictates of his heart.

only entreat you to give him reason to imagine, that there was something wonderfully efficacious in this letter. Now this he will certainly suppose, if you exercise towards Julius every generous act that your politeness and your station enable you to confer; not only by distant services, but by your personal notice and distinction: for you cannot imagine, as you have not been long enough in your post to know it by your own observation, how great an advantage it is to a man to have the countenance of the governor of his province. I am persuaded that Julius well deserves every mark of your friendship upon his own account; not only because Cuspius has assured me that he does, (which, of itself, indeed, would be a very sufficient reason for my thinking so,) but because I know the great judgment of the latter in the choice of his friends.

Time will soon discover the effects which this letter shall produce; and they will be such, I confidently trust, as to demand my acknowledgments. In the mean while, you may depend upon my best services here, in every instance wherein I shall imagine you would desire them. Farewell.

P. S. Publius Cornelius, the bearer of this letter, is one whom I likewise recommend to you at the request of Cuspius; and how much I am bound, both by inclination and gratitude, to do every thing

for his sake that is in my power, is a circumstance of which I have already sufficiently informed you. Let me entreat you, therefore, that he may very soon, and very frequently, have the strongest reasons to thank me for this my recommendation of his friend. Farewell.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 697.]

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS, PROCONSUL.

THE senate met on the 13th of January, but came to no resolution; the greatest part of that day having been spent in some warm contests which arose between Marcellinus,* the consul, and Caninius, one of the tribunes of the people. I had myself also a very considerable share in the debates; and I represented the zeal you have always shewn towards the senate, in terms that influenced them, I am persuaded, much to your advantage. The next day, therefore, we thought it sufficient briefly to deliver our opinions; as I perceived, not only by the favourable manner in which I was heard the day before, but also by inquiring into the senti-

* Cneius Lentulus Marcellinus, who was consul this year with L. Marcius Philippus.

ments of each particular member, that the majority was clearly on our side. The business of the day opened with reporting to the house the several opinions of Bibulus, Hortensius, and Volcatius. The respective questions, therefore, were, in the first place, whether three commissioners should be nominated for restoring the king, agreeably to the sentiments of Bibulus; in the next, whether, according to those of Hortensius, the office should be conferred upon you, but without employing any forces; or, lastly, whether, in conformity to the advice of Volcatius, this honour should be assigned to Pompey. The points being thus stated, it was moved, that the opinion of Bibulus might be referred to the deliberation of the house in two separate questions.* Accordingly, as it was now in vain to oppose his motion, so far as it related to paying obedience to the declaration of the oracle, the se-

* "When an opinion was proposed to the senate which "was thought too general, and to include several distinct "articles, it was usual to require, that each part might be "propounded and voted separately. Thus Bibulus moved, "that they might submit to the Sibylline oracle, and ap- "point three private senators to restore the king. But the "house required that they might vote separately upon these "two questions: and the event was, they unanimously "agreed to the former, but rejected the latter." *Ross rem. on Cic. fæmil. epist.* vol. i. p. 348.

nate in general came into his sentiments; but as to his proposal of deputing three commissioners, it was rejected by a very considerable majority. The opinion next in order was that of Hortensius. But, when we were going to divide upon it, Lupus, a tribune of the people, insisted, that, in virtue of his office, he had the privilege of dividing the house, prior to the consuls; and therefore demanded, that the voices should be first taken upon the motion he had made in favour of Pompey. This claim was generally and strongly opposed; as, indeed, it was both unprecedented and unreasonable. The consuls themselves, however, did not greatly contest that point, nor did they absolutely give it up. Their view was to protract the debates, and they succeeded accordingly. They perceived, indeed, that, notwithstanding the majority affected to appear on the side of Volcatius, yet, upon a division, they would certainly vote with Hortensius. Nevertheless, several of the members were called upon to deliver their opinions, though, in truth, much against the inclinations of the consuls, who were desirous that the sentiments of Bibulus should prevail. These debates continuing till night, the senate broke up without coming to any resolution. I happened to pass the same evening with Pompey; and, as I had that day supported your cause, in the senate, with more than ordinary success, I thought

it afforded me the most favourable opportunity of speaking to him in your behalf. And what I said seemed to make so strong an impression, that I am persuaded I have brought him wholly over to your interest. To say the truth, whenever I hear him mention this affair himself, I entirely acquit him of being secretly desirous of this commission. On the other hand, when I observe the conduct of his friends of every rank, I am well convinced, (and indeed it is now evident likewise to the whole world,) that they have been gained by the corrupt measures which a certain party, with the consent of Ptolemy and his advisers, have employed. I write this before sun-rise, on the 16th of January, and the senate is to meet again on this very day. I hope to preserve my authority in that assembly, as far, at least, as is possible amidst such general treachery and corruption which has discovered itself upon this occasion. As to what concerns the bringing this matter before the people, I think we have taken such precautions as will render it impracticable, unless by actual violence, or in direct and open contempt both of our civil and religious institutions. For this purpose, a very severe order of the senate*, (which, I imagine, was immediately

* When an act passed the senate in a full house, held according to the prescribed forms, and without any opposition

transmitted to you,) was entered yesterday in our journals, notwithstanding the tribunes Cato* and Caninius interposed their negatives.

You may depend upon my sending you a faithful account of every other occurrence which may arise in this affair; and be assured I shall exert the utmost of my vigilance and my credit, to conduct it in the most advantageous manner for your interest. Farewell.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 697.]

TO THE SAME.

Aulus Trebonius, who is an old and intimate friend of mine, has some important affairs in your province, which require immediate dispatch. His own illustrious character, together with the recommendations of myself and others, have, upon former occasions of this kind, obtained for him the

from the tribunes, (who had the privilege of putting a negative upon all proceedings in the senate,) it was called a *senatus consultum*, a decree of the senate. But if any of these essentials were wanting, or a tribune interposed, it was then only styled a *senatus auctoritas*, an order of the senate, and considered as of less authority. *Manut.*

* See p. 57. note.

indulgence of your predecessors. He is strongly persuaded, therefore, from that affection, and those mutual good offices which subsist between you and me, that this letter will not prove a less effectual solicitor in his behalf; and let me earnestly entreat you not to disappoint him in this his expectation. Accordingly, I recommend his servants, his freed-men, his agents, and, in short, his concerns of every kind, to your patronage; but particularly, I beg you would confirm the decree which Titus Ampius* passed in his favour. In one word, I hope you will take all opportunities of convincing him, that you do not consider this recommendation as a matter of common and unmeaning form. Farewell.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 697.]

TO THE SAME.

When the senate met on the 16th of this month,† your affair stood in a very advantageous posture. We had succeeded the day before against the mo-

* The predecessor of Lentulus in this government. *Pigh. Ann.* U. C. 696.

† January.

tion of Bibulus for appointing three commissioners, and had now only to contend with Volcatius; when our adversaries prevented the question from being put, by artfully protracting the debates. For they saw we had, in a very full house, and amidst great contrariety of opinions, carried our point, to the considerable mortification of those who were for taking the king's affairs out of your direction, and transferring them to another hand. Curio opposed us upon this occasion with extreme warmth; while Bibulus spoke with more temper, and, indeed, seemed almost inclined to favour our cause. But Cato and Caninius absolutely refused to suffer any decree to pass, till a general assembly of the people should be convened.

By the Pupian law, as you well know, there cannot be another meeting of the senate till the first of February; nor, indeed, throughout that whole month, unless all the foreign ambassadors should have received, or be refused, audience. In the mean while, a notion prevails among the people, that your adversaries have insisted upon this pretended oracle, not so much with an intent of obstructing your particular views, as in order to disappoint the hopes of those who may be desirous of this expedition to Alexandria, merely from the ambition of commanding an army. The whole world is sensible, indeed, of the regard which the senate

has shewn to your character; and it is notoriously owing to the artifices of your enemies, that the house did not divide upon the question proposed in your favour. But should the same persons, under a pretended zeal for the public, (though, in fact, from the most infamous motives,) attempt to bring this affair before a general assembly of the people, we have concerted our measures so well, that they cannot possibly effect their designs, without having recourse to violence; or, at least, without setting the ordinances of our country, both civil and religious, at avowed defiance.*—But I will

* It was no very difficult matter for the contending parties in the republic, when they were disposed to obstruct the designs of an opposite faction, to find an expedient for that purpose. One cannot but wonder, indeed, that any public business could be carried on, when nothing more was necessary to embarrass the proceedings, than to procure some tribune to interpose his negative, or any magistrate to *observe the heavens*. This latter was a species of divination practised among the Romans, in order to determine whether any scheme under deliberation would be prejudicial or advantageous to the state. It consisted in remarking certain appearances in the heavens, or particular modes in the voice or flight of birds, which were supposed intimations of good or ill success. While this ceremony was performing, no assembly of the people could be legally held, nor any act pass into a law. To both these methods, it is probable, Cicero here alludes.

neither ostentatiously display my own endeavours to assist you in this conjuncture, nor dwell upon the unworthy treatment you have received from others. What merit, indeed, can I thence claim to myself, who could not acquit half the obligations I owe you, were I even to sacrifice my life to your service? On the other hand, what avails it to disquiet my mind with complaining of those injuries, which I cannot reflect upon without the deepest concern? I will, therefore, only add, if methods of violence should be employed, I cannot pretend, in this general contempt of all legal authority, to answer for the event. In every other respect, I will venture to assure you, that both the senate and the people will pay the highest attention to your dignity and character. Farewell.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 697.]

TO THE SAME.

THERE is nothing I more ardently wish, than to convince both yourself, and the world, with how much gratitude I retain the remembrance of your services. I cannot, however, but extremely regret, that your affairs should have taken such a turn since your absence, as to give you occasion of try-

ing the affection and fidelity of your friends. You are sensible, as I perceive, by your last letter, that you have been treated with the same insincerity by those who ought to have concurred in supporting your dignities, as I formerly experienced from some of my pretended friends, in the affair of my banishment. Thus, whilst I was exerting the utmost efforts of my vigilance, my policy, and my interest, in order to serve you in the article relating to Ptolemy, I was unexpectedly alarmed in a point of much more important concern, by the infamous law which Cato has lately proposed to your prejudice.* Where affairs are thus embroiled, every thing is, undoubtedly, to be feared; yet my principal apprehension, I confess, arises from the treachery of your false friends. But, however that may be, I am earnestly endeavouring to counteract the malevolent designs of Cato.

As to the Alexandrian commission, both yourself and your friends will, I trust, have abundant reason to be satisfied with my conduct. But, at the same time, I must say, I greatly fear it will either be taken out of your hands, or entirely drop-

* Caius Cato, in order to cut off all hopes at once from Lentulus, of being employed in this contested commission, proposed a law to the people for recalling him from his government. *Ad Q. F.* i. 3.

ped; and I know not which of these alternatives I should least choose. However, we have another expedient in reserve, which, (should we be driven to it,) neither Selicius nor myself disapprove. By this scheme we shall, on the one hand, prevent the senate from refusing to assist Ptolemy; and, on the other, remove all appearance of our being disappointed, if that person should be employed, who, it is more than probable, will now obtain this commission. To be short, I shall take such precautions, that should our designs fail, you may not seem to have suffered the disgrace of a repulse; yet, at the same time, I shall remit nothing of my best efforts to support your claim, so long as there shall be the least prospect of success. But whichever way this point may finally be determined, it will be agreeable to those wise and elevated sentiments you possess, to consider the true glory of your character, as resulting entirely from the dignity of your actions and the virtues of your heart. And should the perfidiousness of a certain party deprive you of some of those honours, which fortune has conferred upon you; be assured, it will cast a much darker shade on their characters than on yours. In the mean while, your affairs are the constant subject of my thoughts; and I neglect no opportunity of acting in them for your best advantage. I concert all my measures for this purpose with Selicius;

as, indeed, I know not any one of your friends who has a greater share of good sense, or a more affectionate zeal for your service. Farewell.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 697.]

TO THE SAME.*

You are informed, I imagine, by many hands, of what passes here. I will leave it, therefore, to your other friends to supply you with an account of our transactions, and content myself with only sending you my conjectures. To this end I must previously acquaint you, that, on the 6th of February, Pompey made a speech, in a general assembly of the people, in favour of Milo; during which he was insulted with much clamour and abuse. Cato afterwards inveighed in the senate against Pompey, with great acrimony, and was heard with the most profound silence and attention; both which circumstances seem to have affected him very sensibly. Now from hence I surmise, that he has entirely laid aside all thoughts of being employed in the Alex-

* This and the foregoing letter are blended together in the common editions, but they are here separated upon the authority of Manutius and Gronovius.

andrine expedition. That affair remains, as yet, entirely open to us; for the senate has hitherto determined nothing to your prejudice, but what they are obliged, in deference to the oracle, to refuse to every other candidate for this office. It is my present hope, therefore, as well as endeavour, that the king may throw himself into your hands, when he shall find that he cannot, as he expected, be restored by Pompey; and that unless he is replaced upon his throne by your assistance, his affair will be entirely dropped. And this step he will undoubtedly take, if Pompey should give the least intimation of its being agreeable to him. But I need not tell you of the difficulty of discovering the sentiments of a man of his reserve. However, I shall omit no method in my power to effect this scheme; as I shall easily, I trust, be able to prevent the injurious designs of Cato.

I do not find that any of the consulars are in your interest, except Hortensius and Lucullus; all the rest of that rank either openly, or in a more concealed manner, oppose your views. Nevertheless, my friend, be not discouraged; on the contrary, let it be still your hope, notwithstanding the attempts of the worthless Cato, that you will again shine out in all your former lustre.* Farewell.

* See p. 75. note.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 697.]

TO THE SAME.

You will receive a full account from Pollio of all that has been transacted in your affair; as he was not only present, but a principal manager. Believe me, I am much concerned at the unfavourable aspect of this business. However, it affords me a very sensible consolation, that there is strong reason to hope, the prudence of your friends will be able to elude the force of those iniquitous schemes, which have been projected to your prejudice. Even time itself will, probably, contribute to this end; as it often wears out the malevolence of those who, either professedly, or in a disguised manner, mean one ill. I am yet farther confirmed in these pleasing hopes, whenever I reflect upon the faction that was formerly raised against myself; of which I see a very lively image in the present opposition to you. In the latter instance, indeed, the attack is by no means so extensive, or so dangerous, as that which was made upon me; nevertheless, there is, in general, a strong similitude between the two cases; and you must pardon me, if I cannot fear, upon your account, what you never thought rea-

sonable to be apprehensive of on mine. But, whatever may be the event, convince the world that you are influenced by those principles for which I have admired you from your earliest youth; and believe me, my friend, the malice of your enemies will only serve to render your character so much the more illustrious. In the mean time, do me the justice to hope, from my affection, whatever the warmest friendship can effect; and be assured, I shall not disappoint your expectations. Farewell.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 697.]

TO LUCIUS LUCCEIUS.*

I HAVE frequently had it in my intentions to talk with you upon the subject of this letter; but a cer-

* It is very little that is known of Lucceius, more than what the following letter informs us. Cicero, in one of his orations, speaks of his moral character with the highest applause, representing him as a man of the greatest humanity, and of the most unblemished honour. All that has been transmitted down to us of his public transactions is, that he was joint candidate with Cæsar in soliciting the consulship, in opposition to Bibulus; in which, however, he did not succeed. In the civil war which afterwards broke out, he took part with Pompey; if not actively, at least by his good wishes and advice: for it appears, by a passage in

tain awkward modesty has always restrained me from proposing in person, what I can, with less scruple, request at this distance; for a letter, you know, spares the confusion of a blush. I will own then, that I have a very strong, and, I trust, a very pardonable passion of being celebrated in your writings; and though you have more than once given me assurance of your intending me that honour, yet, I hope you will excuse my impatience of seeing your design executed. I had always, indeed, conceived an high expectation of your performances in this kind; but the specimen I have lately seen of them, is so far superior to all I had figured in my imagination, that it has fired me with the most ardent desire of being immediately distinguished in your glorious annals. It is my ambition, I confess, not only to live for ever in the praises of future ages, but to have the present satisfaction, likewise, of seeing myself stand approved in the authoritative records of my ingenious friend. I am sensible, at the same time, that your thoughts are

Cæsar's Commentaries, that the former was wholly guided by his counsels. It is unnecessary to mention the high reputation he had gained by his literary abilities, as this part of his character will be sufficiently laid open to the reader in the present letter. *Orat. pro Cælio. Suet. in Cæs.* 19. *Cæs. de bell. civ.* iii.

already deeply engaged in the prosecution of your original design. But as I perceive you have almost completed your account of the Italic and Marian civil wars,* and remember you proposed to carry on the remainder of our history in a regular series, I cannot forbear recommending it to your consideration, whether it would be best to weave the relation of Catiline's conspiracy into the general texture of your performance, or cast it into a distinct

* The Italic war, which broke out An. Urb. 663, owed its rise to a rejected claim of the Italian provinces to be admitted into the freedom of the city. It employed the arms of the republic for more than two years, and occasioned greater bloodshed and devastation than those wars in which she had been engaged with Hannibal and Pyrrhus. Towards the close of it, Cicero, who was at that time about eighteen years of age, served as a volunteer under the father of Pompey the Great. *Flor.* iii. 18. *Philip.* xii. The Marian civil war immediately succeeded the Italic, and was occasioned by the insatiable ambition of Marius. This haughty Roman, envying Sylla the honour of leading the army of the republic against Mithridates, to which he had been appointed by the senate, procured a law for divesting him of that command, and transferring it into his own hands. This war was carried on between the two contending chiefs and their adherents, with various success, and the most unparalleled cruelty on both sides, till it terminated in the perpetual dictatorship of Sylla. *Flor.* iii. 21. *Plut. in vit. Mar. et Syll.*

work. It is certain, several of the Greek historians will justify you in this latter method. Thus Callisthenes wrote a narrative of the siege of Troy, as both Timæus and Polybius did of the Pyrrhic and Numantine wars, in so many detached pieces from their larger histories.* As to the honour that will arise to me, it will be much the same, I must own, upon whichever scheme you may determine to proceed; but I shall receive so much the earlier gratification of my wishes, if, instead of waiting till you regularly advance to that period of our annals,

* Callisthenes lived in the times of Alexander the Great, and attended that illustrious commander in his expedition into Persia. Timæus was, by birth, a Sicilian, and flourished about the year of Rome 471; he appears, by the character which Cicero gives of him in another part of his writings, to have been a very learned and elegant historian; and he was an author in great esteem with Atticus. Plutarch, however, speaks of him with much contempt, for having affected to rival Thucydides; and he is noted by Longinus as a writer that abounded with cold and puerile conceits. He acknowledges, nevertheless, that Timæus had a flowing imagination, and, upon some occasions, rose up to the true sublime. Polybius, who died about seventeen years before Cicero came into the world, wrote a general history in forty books; only five of which have reached these times. But he is not more distinguished by his composition, than by the friendship he enjoyed with Scipio and Lælius. *De Orat.* ii. 5. 8. *Ad Att.* vi. 1. *Plut. in vit. Niciæ. Longin Sect.* 4. *Voss. de Hist. Græc.* i. 9. 12. 19.

you should enter upon it by this method of anticipation. Besides, by keeping your mind attentive to one principal scene and character, you will treat your subject, I am persuaded, so much the more in detail, as well as embellish it with higher graces. I must acknowledge, it is not extremely modest, thus to impose a task upon you which your occupations may well justify you in refusing; and then, to add a further request, that you would honour my actions with your applause: an honour, after all, which you may not think, perhaps, they greatly deserve. However, when a man has once transgressed the bounds of decency, it is in vain to recede; and his wisest way is to push on boldly in the same confident course, to the end of his purpose. I will venture, then, earnestly to entreat you, not to confine yourself to the strict laws of history, but to give a greater latitude to your encomiums, than, possibly, you may think my actions can claim. I remember, indeed, you declare, in one of your very elegant prefaces, that you are as inflexible to all the pleas of affection, as Xenophon represents Hercules to have been to those of pleasure.* Let me

* The story to which Cicero here alludes, is this: Hercules, when he was yet a youth, as Prodicus relates the fable, retired into a place of undisturbed solitude, in order to determine, with himself, what course of life he should

hope, nevertheless, if friendship should too strongly recommend my actions to your approbation, you will not reject her generous partiality; but give somewhat more to affection, than rigorous truth, perhaps, can justly demand.

If I should prevail upon you to fall in with my proposal, you will find the subject, I persuade myself, not unworthy of your genius and your eloquence. The entire period from the rise of Catiline's conspiracy to my return from banishment, will furnish, I should imagine, a moderate volume. It will supply you likewise with a noble occasion of displaying your judgment in politics, by laying open the source of those civil disorders, and pointing out their proper remedies, as well as by giving your reasons for approving or condemning the several transactions which you relate. And should you be disposed to indulge your usual spirit of freedom, you will have an opportunity of pointing out,

pursue. Whilst he was in the midst of his contemplations, Pleasure and Virtue appeared to him under the figures of two beautiful women, and each accosted him in her turn. He heard their respective pleas with great attention; but Virtue gained her cause, and entirely won the heart of the future hero. If the English reader is disposed to know this story in all its circumstances, he will find it wrought up into a very beautiful poem by the Rev. Mr Lowth, and inserted in Polymetis, p. 135.

at the same time, with all the severity of your indignation, the treachery and perfidiousness of those who laid their ungenerous snares for my destruction. I will add too, that this period of my life will furnish you with numberless incidents, which cannot but draw the reader's attention in a very agreeable manner; as nothing is more amusing to the mind, than to contemplate the various vicissitudes of fortune. And though they were far, it is true, from being acceptable in experience, they cannot fail of giving me much entertainment in description; as there is an inexpressible satisfaction in reflecting at one's ease, on distresses we have formerly suffered. There is something likewise in that compassion, which arises from reading an account of the misfortunes which have attended others, that casts a most agreeable melancholy upon the mind. Who can peruse the relation of the last moments of Epaminondas at the battle of Mantinea, without finding himself touched with a pleasing commiseration? That glorious chief, you may remember, would not suffer the dart to be drawn out of his side, till he was informed that his shield was safe from the hands of his enemies; and all his concern, amidst the anguish of his wound, was to die with glory.* What can be more interesting,

* Epaminondas headed the forces of the Thebans in a battle which they fought with the Lacedemonians at Man-

also, than the account of the flight and death of Themistocles! * The truth of it is, a mere narrative of general facts affords little more entertainment to the reader, than he might find in perusing one of our public registers.† Whereas, in the history of

tinea, a town in Arcadia. The Thebans gained the victory, but lost their invaluable commander; whose death was attended with the circumstances which Cicero here mentions. *Justin.* vi. 7, 8.

* Themistocles, after having distinguished himself among his countrymen, the Athenians, by his military virtues, particularly in the wars in which they were engaged with Xerxes, had rendered himself so popular, that it was thought necessary to remove him: and accordingly he was obliged to withdraw from Athens. As the historians mention nothing of his return, Manutius proposes an emendation, suggested to him by one of his friends, who imagined, that instead of *reditu*, it should be read *interitu*. This would agree very well with the account which is given of his death; for, having been received in his exile by Artaxerxes, he was appointed to command a body of forces in an expedition which that prince was preparing against the Grecians. But Themistocles, rather than turn his arms against his country, chose to put an end to his life by a draught of poison.—*Plut. in vita Themist.*

† These originally were books preserved in the pontifical college, wherein the several divisions of the Roman year were marked out as they were regulated by Numa, and the particular festivals noted, upon which it was unlawful to transact any public affairs. These registers, in the later ages of the republic, were much enlarged, and contained a sort

any extraordinary person, our fear and hope, our joy and sorrow, our astonishment and expectation, are each of them engaged by turns. And if the final result of all should be concluded with some remarkable catastrophe, the mind of the reader is filled with the highest possible gratification. For these reasons, I am the more desirous of persuading you to separate my story from the general thread of your narration, and work it up into a detached performance; as indeed it will exhibit a great variety of the most interesting and affecting scenes.

When I tell you, it is my ambition to be celebrated by your pen, I am, by no means, apprehensive you will suspect me of flattery. The consciousness of your merit must always incline you to believe, it is envy alone that can be silent in your praise; as, on the other side, you cannot imagine me so weak as to desire to be transmitted to posterity by any hand which could not secure to itself the same glory it bestowed. When Alexander chose to have his picture drawn by Apelles,* and

of journal of the most memorable events, both civil and religious, that happened in every year.—*Liv.* i. 19. 20. *Dissert. sur les fastes par Coulure dans les Mem. de lit. de l'Academ. de bel. let.* i. 67.

* See an account of this celebrated Grecian painter, in Letter 17. Book ii. note.

his statue formed by Lysippus,* it was not in order to ingratiate himself with those distinguished artists; it was from a firm persuasion, that the works of these admired geniuses would do equal credit both to his reputation and their own. The utmost, however, that their art could perform, was to perpetuate the persons only of their celebrated contemporaries; but merit needs not any such visible exhibitions to immortalize its fame. Accordingly, the Spartan Agesilaus, who would never suffer any picture or statue of him to be taken,† is

* A famous statuary; of whom, Demetrius, as cited by Quintilian, remarks, that he was more celebrated for taking a strong than an agreeable likeness.—*Quint. Inst. Orat.* xii. 10.

† Agesilaus, king of Sparta, was one of the most considerable persons of his age, both for civil and military virtues; insomuch, that he justly acquired the appellation of Agesilaus the *great*. But though nature had been uncommonly liberal to him in the nobler endowments of the mind, she had treated him very unfavourable in those of the body. He was remarkably low of stature, had one leg shorter than the other; and so very despicable a countenance, that he never failed of raising contempt in those who were unacquainted with his moral and intellectual excellencies. It is no wonder, therefore, that he was unwilling to be delivered down to posterity, under the disadvantages of so unpromising a figure.—*Plut. in vit. Agesil. Corn. Nep. in vita Agesil.* 8.

not less universally known, than those who have been most fond of having their persons copied out for posterity. The single treatise which Xenophon has written in praise of that renowned general, is more to his glory, than all the pictures and statues of all the artists in the universe. It would be a much higher satisfaction to me, therefore, as it would be a far greater honour, to be recorded by your hand than that of any other; not only because your genius would raise and adorn my actions with the same advantage as Timæus* has displayed those of Timoleon,† or Herodotus‡ those

* The works of Timæus are lost.

† Timoleon is one of the noblest characters in all antiquity, and distinguished not only by his private virtues, but by approving himself, upon every occasion, the great asserter of public liberty. He was employed by the Corinthians as general of those forces which they sent to the relief of the Syracusans, against the execrable tyranny of Dionysius. He executed this commission with great honour and success; for, having driven Dionysius out of Sicily, and restored the inhabitants to their rights and privileges, he resigned the supreme command. He continued, however, to live among the Syracusans as a private man, enjoying, as Plutarch observes, the glorious satisfaction of seeing so many cities owe their ease and happiness to his generous and heroic labours.—*Plut. in vit. Timol.*

‡ Herodotus flourished about 440 years before the birth of Christ, under the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes, kings of Persia.

of Themistocles;* but because of the additional credit I shall receive from the applause of so illustrious, so experienced, and so approved a patriot. By this means, I shall enjoy, not only the same glorious privilege which, as Alexander observed when he was at Sigeum, Achilles received from Homer;† but what is still more important, the powerful testimony of a man, who is himself distinguished by the noblest and most uncommon virtues. Accordingly, I have been always wonderfully pleased with the sentiment which Nævius‡ puts into the

* See p. 87. note.

† Alexander being elected commander in chief of the confederate troops which the Grecians sent against Xerxes, crossed the Hellespont with his army, and landed at Sigeum, a promontory near Troy, where he visited the tomb of Achilles. Upon this occasion, he is said to have broken out into the following exclamation: "O happy youth! in having "found an Homer to celebrate thy virtues."—*Plut. in vit. Alex. Cic. pro Arch. poet.*

‡ A dramatic poet, who died at Rome An. Urb. 550, about 203 years before the Christian era; some fragments of his works still remain. The sentiment here quoted from him, is truly noble; as there is not, perhaps, a more certain indication of a low and little mind, than to be elevated by undistinguishing applause, or depressed by vulgar censure. Trophies of honour, or monuments of disgrace, are not the works of every hand. Some men are incapable of blasting a reputation, but by approving it; and are never satirists, but when they mean to be panegyrists.

mouth of Hector, where that hero, speaking of the approbation he had received from his illustrious father, adds, that it gave him so much the more satisfaction, as coming from one who was himself the great object of universal applause. But should want of leisure, (for it would be an injustice to our friendship to suppose it can be want of inclination,) should your occupations then prevent your compliance with this my request, I may, perhaps, be obliged to take a method, which, though often condemned, is supported nevertheless by several considerable examples; I mean, to be the historian of my own transactions. But you are sensible there are two inconveniences which attend this scheme; for a man must necessarily be more reserved in setting forth those parts of his conduct which merit approbation; as he will be inclined entirely to pass over others which may deserve reproach. I must add, likewise, that what a writer says to his own advantage, always carries with it a less degree of force and authority, than when it comes from any other pen. In a word, the world in general is little disposed to approve any attempt of this kind. On the contrary, one often hears the more modest method of the poets at the Olympic games, recommended upon such occasions, who, after they have crowned the several victors, and publicly called

over their names, always employ some other person to perform the same office to themselves, that they may not be the heralds of their own applause. This imputation, therefore, I would willingly avoid; as I certainly shall, if you should comply with my request, and take this employment out of my hands.

You will be surprised, perhaps, that I spend so much time and pains in soliciting you for this purpose, after having so often heard you declare your intentions of giving the world a very accurate history of my administration. But you must remember the natural warmth of my temper, and that I am fired, as I told you in the beginning of my letter, with an impatient desire of seeing this your design carried into execution. To own the whole truth, I am ambitious of being known to the present generation by your writings, and to enjoy, in my lifetime, a foretaste of that little share of glory which I may expect from future ages. If it be not too much trouble, therefore, I should be glad you would immediately let me know your resolution. And should it prove agreeable to my request, I will draw up some general memoirs of my transactions for your use; if otherwise, I will take an opportunity of discoursing further with you upon this affair in person. In the mean time, continue to polish the

work you have begun, and to love me as usual.* Farewell.

* Pliny has made a request to Tacitus, of the same nature with that which is the subject of the letter before us; and though it is by no means enlivened with so much spirit, it is dictated, however, by a far less extravagant passion. He confesses himself fond, indeed, of being transmitted to posterity, by the pencil of that celebrated historian: but adds, at the same time, that he is far from desiring him to paint his actions in colours more strong than fact will justify.—See *Pliny's Letters*, Vol. II. This express restriction seems to glance at that most extraordinary passage in the present epistle, where Cicero intreats his friend "not to confine himself to the strict laws of history, but to give a greater latitude to his encomiums than Lucceius might possibly think his actions could claim." And never did vanity, it must be acknowledged, utter or conceive a more ridiculous and contemptible wish! The voice of praise can alone be justly pleasing, when it harmonizes with conscious merit; and the applause that does not accord with truth, must, of all dissonances, surely prove the most offensive to a well-formed ear. But it is extremely observable how much Cicero's judgment was at variance with his practice; for he has himself shewn, in very strong terms, the absurdity of claiming more reputation than a man has merit to support. It is solid worth alone, he justly remarks, that can secure a lasting fame; for nothing can be durable that is fictitious. The former, says he, strikes its root deep, and spreads far; while the latter soon withers and dies away, like the beauties of a transient flower. *Vera gloria radices*

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 697.]

QUINTUS METELLUS NEPOS* TO CICERO.

THOSE calumnies with which the most virulent, surely, of the human race† is perpetually loading

agit, et propagatur: ficta omnia celeriter, tanquam flosculi, decidant; nec simulatum potest esse quidquam diuturnum.— De offic. ii. 12.

* It is impossible to determine exactly when this letter was written, as it carries no internal marks sufficient to point out its date with precision. Ragazonius, who has taken the pains to settle the order of these epistles, places it under the present year, and supposes it to have been written by Metellus when he was governor in Spain; to which province he went as proconsul after the expiration of his consulship.

† The commentators suppose, that the person here alluded to is Clodius, who was now Ædile, and employing the power which that office gave him to the same factious purposes as he had exercised his late tribuneship. But this conjecture appears altogether groundless. For Cicero, taking notice to Atticus of the death of Metellus, which seems to have happened soon after this letter was written, tells him it was probable that he had appointed Clodius his heir; a circumstance utterly inconsistent with the supposition above mentioned. The same letter may be produced

me in his public harangues, are well compensated by the satisfaction I receive from your obliging offices. When I consider, indeed, the worthless hand from whence these arrows take their flight, I look upon them with the contempt they deserve; and am very willing he should cease to act as a relation, since I have the pleasure to see you assume that character in his stead. To say the truth, notwithstanding I had formerly so much regard for him, as to have twice preserved him, even in spite of himself, I should now be glad to forget there is such a person in the world.

That I might not trouble you too frequently with my letters, I have written to Lollius concerning my affairs; who will let you know what measures I am desirous may be taken in regard to the accounts of this province.* If it be possible, let me still enjoy a place in your affection. Farewell.

as an evidence, likewise, that, whatever were the good offices which Metellus here acknowledges, they did not proceed from the suggestions of Cicero's heart; for he speaks of him to Atticus as of one whose character and conduct he greatly disapproved.—*Ad Att.* iv. 7.

* Spain.

LETTERS

OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

TO

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK SECOND.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 698.]

TO QUINTUS ANCHARIUS,* PROCONSUL.

I RECOMMEND the two sons of my very excellent friend Aurelius, as well deserving your esteem. They are adorned, indeed, with every polite and valuable qualification; as they are in the number,

* Quintus Ancharius was tribune An. Urb. 694; when he distinguished himself by his resolute opposition to the factious measures of his colleague Vatinius. In the year 697 he was chosen prætor; and, at the expiration of that

likewise, of those with whom I most intimately converse. If ever then my recommendation had any weight with you, (and much, I am sensible, it ever had,) let it prevail, I conjure you, in the present instance. And be assured, the honours with which you shall distinguish these, my friends, will not only indissolubly unite to you two excellent and grateful young men, but, at the same time, confer a very singular obligation upon myself. Farewell.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 698.]

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS, PROCONSUL.

I HAVE received your letter, wherein you assure me, that the frequent accounts I send you of your affairs, together with the convincing proofs I have given you of my friendship, are circumstances extremely agreeable to you. I should ill deserve, indeed, those singular favours you have conferred upon me, if I were capable of refusing you my best services; and nothing is more pleasing to me, in

office, he succeeded Piso in the government of Macedonia; in which province this letter is addressed to him.—*Orat. pro Sext.* 53. *in Pison* 36. *Ross's Remarks on the Epist. of Cic.*

this long and very distant separation, than thus to converse with you as often as possible. If you do not hear from me as frequently as you wish, it is solely because I dare not trust my letters to every conveyance. But whenever I shall be able to put them into hands, upon which I may safely rely, be assured I shall not suffer the opportunity to slip by me.

It is not easy to give a satisfactory answer to your enquiry concerning the sincerity of your professed friends, and the disposition of others in general towards you. This only I will venture to say, that a certain party, and particularly those who have the strongest obligations, as well as the greatest abilities to distinguish themselves in your service, look upon you with envy; that (agreeably to what I have myself experienced upon a different occasion) those whom, in justice to your country, you have necessarily offended, are your avowed opposers; as others, whose interests and honours you have generously supported, are much less inclined to remember your favours than to oppose your glory. These are circumstances, indeed, which I long suspected, and have often intimated to you; but of which I am now most thoroughly convinced. I observed upon the same occasion, (and I believe I told you so in a former letter,) both Hortensius and Lucullus to be extremely in your interests; as

among those who were in the magistracy, Lucius Racilius appeared very sincerely and affectionately to espouse your cause. But, excepting the two former, I cannot name any of the consulars, who discovered the least degree of friendship towards you, when your affair was before the senate. As for my own endeavours, they might, perhaps, be generally considered as flowing rather from those singular favours I have received at your hands, than from the uninfluenced dictates of my real sentiments. With regard to Pompey, he seldom attended the house at that season; but I must do him the justice to say, he often takes an opportunity, without my previously leading him into the subject, of discoursing with me concerning your affair; as well as very willingly enters into the conversation, whenever I start it myself. Your last letter, I perceived, was extremely agreeable to him; and I could not but observe, with equal admiration and pleasure, the polite and most judicious manner in which you addressed him. Before he received this letter, he seemed a little inclined to suspect, that the notion which some had entertained of his inclination to be your competitor, had alienated you from him. But you have now wholly fixed that excellent man in your interest; who, in truth, had all the antecedent reasons for being so, that an uninterrupted series of the highest services could pos-

sibly give him.* I must confess, he always appeared to me, even when the conduct of Caninius had raised the strongest suspicions of the contrary,† to favour your views; but I can now assure you, that I found him, after he had perused your letter, entirely disposed to promote whatever may contribute either to your interest or your honours. You may consider then, what I am going to offer, as his immediate sentiments and advice; as indeed it is

* See p. 60. note.

† It was an usual artifice with Pompey, to employ his friends in soliciting those honours in his behalf, to which he affected to appear himself perfectly indifferent, or even averse. This was his policy in the present instance; and at the same time that he pretended to serve Lentulus in this affair, his creature Caninius, a tribune of the people, was practising every stratagem in order to procure this commission for Pompey. "And though Cicero, (as Mr Ross ob-"serves) either out of a tenderness for Lentulus, or out of "an apprehension of displeasing Pompey, to whom he was "at this time making his court, represents him, in this "place, as acting an honest and friendly part: yet in a let-"ter to his brother, where he may be supposed to deliver "his real sentiments, he speaks quite differently: *nam quod* "*de Pompeio Caninius agit, sane quam refrixit: neque enim* "*res probatur; et Pompeius noster in amicitia P. Lentuli* "*vituperatur, et hercule non est idem.* Ep. vi. l. 2. The "truth of the case is this; when Pompey found it was im-"possible for him to procure this commission, he pretend-

the result of frequent consultations, which we have held together. Accordingly, we are of opinion, that it may be proper for you to consider, whether any advantages may be derived from your being in possession of Cecilia and Cyprus. For if there should appear a sufficient probability of being able to make yourself master of Alexandria and Egypt, we think it equally for your own honour, and that of the republic,* to march thither with your army,

"ed a friendship for Lentulus, and joined with Cicero in "giving the advice, which makes a great part of this let-"ter."

* A general sketch of Ptolemy's character has already been given in the notes on the preceding Book; and it appears from thence, that nothing could be less to the honour of the commonwealth, than to interpose in the behalf of this justly-rejected monarch. Cicero himself represents him, in one of his orations, as unworthy of the crown he wore: *eum* (says he) *neque genere neque animo regis esse, inter omnes fere video convenire.*—In Rull. ii. But what is still more extraordinary, Cicero makes the very measures which he here so strongly recommends to Lentulus, an article of his charge against Antony. It was by the persuasion of the latter that Gabinius undertook (as has already been observed) the restoration of Ptolemy; and Antony commanded the Roman cavalry in that expedition. This affords a topic of great indignation in one of the Philippics; and Cicero there speaks of this transaction (as he ought always to have spoken of it) as a most impudent violation of all authority both sacred and civil: *inde iter* (says

supported by your fleet; having first left the king at Ptolemais, or some other convenient place in that neighbourhood. By these means, when you shall have quieted the disturbances in Alexandria, and secured it by a proper number of forces, Ptolemy may safely take possession of his kingdom. Thus he will be restored by you, as the senate had once* decreed; and restored too without an army, agreeably to the sentiments of those who insist upon observing the injunctions of the oracle. We are the rather confirmed in recommending this measure, as there is no decree of the senate subsisting which particularly prohibits you from replacing Ptolemy on his throne. As to the order which absolutely forbids all assistance whatsoever to be given to him, you know it was not only protested against, when it was voted, but is generally looked upon rather as the warm dictates of an exasperated faction, than as having the full authority of a decree of the senate. However, we deem it necessary to add, that

he) *ad Alexandriam contra senatus auctoritatem, contra rempublicam et religiones.*—Philip. ii. 19. But what opinion must every unprejudiced reader conceive of our author, when he thus finds him condemning and approving the same transaction, and advising his friend to pursue a step which he afterwards publicly and justly reproached in his adversary?—See p. 55. note.

* See p. 59. note.

we are sensible the world will judge of the propriety of this scheme, entirely by the event. Should it succeed as we wish, your policy and resolution will universally be applauded; on the other hand, should it miscarry, it will undoubtedly be condemned as an action of ill-considered and unwarrantable ambition. How far this enterprise may be practicable, you, who are situated almost within view of Egypt, are the most competent judge. If, therefore, you are well satisfied of being able to render yourself master of that kingdom, we are clearly of opinion you should not delay your march one moment; but, if you are doubtful of the success, it is our advice, that you, by no means, make the attempt. This I will venture to assure you, that, should you execute this project in the manner we wish, there will be a very considerable party to give it applause, even during your absence; as all Rome will unite in the same approbation, the moment you shall return amongst us. Nevertheless, I am persuaded, if this scheme should not take the desired effect, it may be attended with very disagreeable consequences to yourself; not only upon account of that order of the senate, which I just now mentioned, but likewise in regard to the oracle. When, therefore, I recommend such measures, as you shall have full assurance will terminate in your glory, I must, at the same time, strongly dissuade

you from engaging in them, if you should have the least reason to apprehend an opposition. For (I repeat it again) the world will be determined in their opinion of this whole transaction, not as it is reasonable, but as it shall prove successful. If the method here proposed should appear too dangerous to be hazarded in your own person, we think it may at least be advisable to assist the king with a number of your forces, provided he shall give sufficient security to your friends in the province, for repaying them the money they have advanced in support of his cause. And indeed the circumstances and situation of your government render it extremely easy, either to promote or obstruct his restoration, as you shall see proper. After all, you are the best judge what method will be most expedient to pursue; I thought it my part, however, to inform you of these our concurrent sentiments.

You congratulate me on the prosperous situation of my affairs in general, and particularly on the friendship of Milo, together with the vain and ineffectual schemes of the worthless Clodius. It is no wonder you should rejoice in these generous effects of your own amicable offices. But, to say the truth, such an incredible perverseness (not to give it a more severe appellation) prevails amongst a certain party, that they rather choose to alienate me by their jealousies from the common cause, than

to retain me in that interest by their favour and encouragement.* I will own to you, their malice has almost driven me from those principles which I have so long and so invariably pursued. At least, if they have not provoked me so far as to make me forget the dignity of my character, they have taught me, that it is high time I should act with a view likewise to my own security. I might, consistently with the strictest duties of patriotism, reconcile both these distinct ends, were there any honour or fortitude in those of consular rank. But such a meanness of spirit prevails in general among them, that, instead of applauding the resolution with which my actions have been ever uniformly directed in the cause of the commonwealth, they look with envy upon those dignities to which my public services have advanced me. I the rather mention this, as it is to you that I am principally indebted, not only for the happiness of being restored to my

* Cicero was at this time acting a part which gave great and just offence to those who were in the true interest of their country; for he was falling in with the measures of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus. He endeavours, therefore, to palliate this unworthy conduct as well as he can; but as he enters more fully into the motives of this step in the 17th letter of this Book, the reader is referred to the observations upon that epistle.

country, but almost for my very first successful steps in the paths of patriotism and of glory.

I perceive this opposition does not proceed (as I formerly suspected) from my not being of noble birth,* since they were actuated, I have observed, by the same malignant spirit against yourself, who are confessedly descended from one of the first families in Rome. Accordingly, though your enemies are contented to see you among those of principal rank in the republic, they will by no means suffer you to soar higher. I rejoice that the parallel between us extends no farther; and though we have met with an equal degree of malice from the world, that the respective consequences, however, have proved extremely different. For a wide difference there surely is, between suffering some diminution in point of honours, and being abandoned to total ruin. If I have not greater reason to lament this cruel outrage of my adversaries, it must be attributed to your generous interposition, as it was by your means it proved, in the final event, of far more advantage to my reputation, than of pre-

* Nobility among the Romans was considered (as Manutius observes upon this passage) not in opposition to the plebeian rank, for many plebeian families were noble; but in contra-distinction to those whose ancestors had not borne any of the honourable magistracies in Rome; and of this number was Cicero.

judice to my fortunes. Suffer me then, from a principle of gratitude, as well as affection, to exhort you, earnestly, to pursue the dictates of that well-regulated ambition, with which you were inflamed from your earliest youth; nor let any injurious treatment depress that heroism of your mind which I have ever admired and valued. The world, believe me, entertains the highest opinion of your merit, and loudly proclaims that enlarged and generous spirit which distinguishes all your actions; and it particularly remembers, to your immortal honour, the patriotism of your illustrious consulship. You are sensible, therefore, how much the least additional glory, which shall accrue to you from your civil and military conduct in the government of your province, will increase and strengthen this general lustre of your reputation. But let me express my wishes at the same time, in the first place, that you would not engage in any enterprise with your army, without having long and maturely examined it in all its consequences, nor without being sufficiently prepared to carry it into execution; and, in the next, that you would be persuaded, of what I doubt not you are already sensible, that you will find it extremely easy to continue in the possession of that pre-eminence amongst your fellow-citizens, to which you have always aspired. That you may not imagine, however, I am offering the idle tribute

of unnecessary advice, I must add, that I could not reflect upon the treatment we have both received, without thinking it proper to exhort you well to consider, for the future, on whom you repose your confidence.

As to your inquiry concerning the situation of public affairs, there are great divisions amongst us; but the zeal and prudence of the several parties are by no means equal. Those who enjoy the largest share of wealth and power,* have gained a superiority of credit likewise by the folly and instability of their antagonists; for they have obtained from the senate, with very little opposition, what they had no hopes of receiving, even from the people, without raising great disturbances. Accordingly the house has voted Cæsar a sum of money for the payment of his army, together with a power of nominating ten lieutenants; as they have also, without the least difficulty, dispensed with the Sempronian law for appointing him a successor.† I do

* Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.

† These immoderate and fatal concessions to Cæsar's ambition, were absolutely unconstitutional, and most evidently tended to the subversion of the republic. But if the reader is surprised at so mean and so impolitic a compliance on the part of the senate, how much higher will his wonder rise, when he is informed that Cicero himself was the chief adviser and promoter of these very measures which he here

but slightly touch upon these particulars, as I cannot reflect on our affairs with any satisfaction. However, I mention them as suggesting an useful caution to both of us, to preserve a proper poise between our interest and our honour, and not to advance one by an undue depression of the other. A maxim this which I have learned, not so much from my favourite philosophy, as from sad experience; and which I would recommend to you, ere you are taught it by the same unpleasant method of conviction.

Your congratulations on my daughter's marriage with Crassipes,* are agreeable to your usual polite-

condemns? If this were a fact, which stood upon the credit of historians, the passage before us would strongly incline one to suspect that they had misrepresented the truth. But we have a testimony to produce, which, though of undoubted authority, is the last one should have expected in the case; for it is the testimony of Cicero himself. In a speech which he pronounced at the bar, either a little before, or soon after the date of this letter, he mentions each of these particular grants, which he enumerates to Lentulus, and then adds, *Harum ego sententiarum et* Princeps *et* Auctor *fui.*—Orat. pro Balbo, 27.

The Sempronian law here spoken of, was procured by C. Sempronius Gracchus, a tribune of the people, A. U. 631. and enacted, that the senate should annually appoint successors to the consular provinces.

* Tullia, when she married Crassipes, was the widow of

ness: I hope and believe this alliance will yield me great satisfaction. Your son is a youth of so promising a turn, that I cannot forbear conjuring you to train him up in those refined arts which have ever been your peculiar taste and study; but chiefly in that best and noblest discipline, the imitation of your exalted virtues. Believe me, I greatly love and esteem him, not only in return to the singular affection he has ever shewn me, but particularly as he is the son, and the worthy son too, of my valuable friend. Farewell.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 698.]

TO FABIUS GALLUS.*

I RECEIVED your letter immediately upon my return from Arpinum, together with one likewise

Piso, surnamed Frugi; of whom an account has been given in the notes on the former Book. This second match did not prove so satisfactory as Cicero here promises himself; for Crassipes soon took a disgust to Tullia, which ended in a divorce. As he is very seldom and but slightly mentioned in Cicero's writings, all that we know of him, is, that he was a nobleman of the first rank.

* The same person to whom the 11th letter of the foregoing Book is written.

from Avianus,* in which he very generously offers to give me credit as long as I shall require. Now, let me desire you to imagine yourself in my situation, and then tell me, whether I can, with a good grace, ask him to allow me even the least time for the payment of this money, much less above a year? Indeed, my dear friend, I should not have been in this difficulty, if you had not exceeded the limits of my commission, both in the particulars and the sum. However, I am not only willing to ratify the agreement you have made for the statues you mention, but am likewise much obliged to you. I am sensible, indeed, that, in the zeal of your friendship, you have purchased for me what pleased your own eye, and what you imagined would be worthy of mine; and I always considered you as a man of the most judicious and elegant taste in every kind. Nevertheless, I shall be extremely glad if Damasippus† should continue in the resolution of taking these figures off my hands;

* He seems to have been the proprietor of the statues mentioned below.

† Damasippus was a celebrated virtuoso of these times, who, after having ruined his fortunes by his extravagant passion for antiques, turned Stoic. Horace has ridiculed his character and his conversion with great humour, in one of his satires.—*Vide Horat. Sat.* ii. 3.

for, to own the plain truth, I have no sort of inclination to them myself. As you were not apprised of my intentions, you have actually consented to pay more for these four or five pieces of sculpture,* than I would have given for all the statues in the universe. You compare the images of the priestesses of Bacchus, to those of the Muses which I bought of Metellus. But surely, my friend, the two instances are by no means parallel; for, in the first place, the Muses themselves would have condemned me, if I had ever rated them at so extravagant a price; and, in the next, I purchased the figures you mention, as bearing an allusion to my studies, and affording a suitable ornament to my library. But where can I, with any propriety, place these Bacchanals? That they are, as you assure me, extremely beautiful, I know full well; for I have frequently seen them; and therefore I should particularly have named them to you, if they had suited my purpose. The purchases which I usually make of this kind, are such only as are proper to embellish my Palæstra,† in the same manner as

* These statues appear, by what follows, to have been three Bacchanals, a Mars, and some figure designed for the support of a table.

† The Palæstra was properly a part of those public buildings which the Grecians (from whom the Romans took them) called Gymnasia, which were originally designed for exer-

the public Gymnasia are generally decorated. But would it not be absurd enough, my good friend, if I, who, upon all occasions, you know, have distinguished myself as the friend of peace, should erect a statue of the god of war? It is well there was not a Saturn too; for how could I have expected to have been out of debt, whilst I had lived under the aspect of two such unlucky divinities?* Mercury would have been a much more welcome guest; for I should have hoped, by his influence, to have made a more advantageous bargain† with Avianus. As to the figure designed for the support of a table, which you intended to reserve for your

cises of various kinds, and in which, in after times, the philosophers likewise held their schools. What Cicero here calls his *Palæstra*, seems to be the same building which, in a letter to Atticus, he terms his *Academia*, and which appears to have been some apartments, or perhaps a distinct building of his Tusculan villa, appropriated principally to the purposes of study, but adapted also to those bodily exercises which the ancients seldom passed a day without practising.—*Vid. Ad Att.* i. 5, 6, 9.

* Alluding (as Manutius observes) to the notions of the judicial astrologers, who pretended that Mars and Saturn were unlucky planets.

† Mercury was supposed to preside over commerce; from whence it is probable, that the *Mercuriales*, mentioned in a letter of Cicero to his brother, were a *company* of merchants. *Vid. Ad. Q. F.* ii. 5.

own use, you shall have it, if you still remain in the same mind; if not, I am ready to take it myself. Upon the whole, however, I had much rather have employed this money in the purchase of a little lodge at Tarracina,* that I might not always trouble my friend and host. But this mistake is partly owing to the carelessness of my freedman, in not observing the instructions I gave him, and partly also to Junius, whom I suppose you know, as he is a particular friend of Avianus. As I have lately built some additional apartments to my little portico at Tusculanum,† I was desirous of adorning them with a few pictures; for if I take pleasure in any thing of this kind, it is in paintings. However, if I must have these statues, let me know where they are, when they will arrive, and by what conveyance you propose to send them; for, if Damasippus should change his intentions of buying them, I shall find, perhaps, some pretender to his taste, who may

* It is now called *Terracina*, a town in the *Campagna di Roma*. It lay in the road from Rome to Cicero's villa at *Formæi*.

† Cicero, if we may credit the invective ascribed to Sallust, expended immense sums in this his favourite villa, which probably was a very fine one when it came into his possession, as it originally belonged to Sylla the dictator. Some considerable remains of it are still shewn at Grotta Ferrata.—*Sallust. declam. in Cic.* 63. *Plin. H. N.* xxii.

be glad of the purchase, and I should be willing to part with them even at a loss.

When I received your first letter concerning the house you want to take, belonging to Cassius, I was just setting out from Rome, and therefore I left your commission with my daughter. However, I took an opportunity myself of talking upon this affair with your friend Nicia, who, you know, is very intimate with Cassius. At my return hither, and before I had opened your last letter, I inquired of Tullia what she had done in this matter. She told me, she had applied to Licinia to speak to her brother Cassius; but, I believe, he is not upon very good terms with his sister. The answer which Licinia gave my daughter, was, that her husband being gone into Spain, she durst not remove* in his absence, and without his knowledge. I am greatly obliged to you for being so desirous of my company as to be impatient to get into a house where you may not only be near me, but actually under the same roof. Be assured, I am no less desirous of having you for my neighbour; and as I am sensible how much it will contribute to our mutual satisfaction, I shall try every expedient for that purpose. If I should have any success, I will let you know;

* This lady seems to have been the tenant of the house, which Gallus wanted either to buy or hire.

in the mean while, I beg you would return me a particular answer to this letter, and tell me, at the same time, when I may expect to see you. Farewell.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 698.]

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS, PROCONSUL.

MARCUS PLÆTORIUS will fully inform you of the promises we have received from Pompey, together with every other circumstance that has been either attempted or effected in your favour. He was not only present, but indeed a principal agent throughout the whole proceedings; and he acted in every article of your concerns, agreeably to what might be expected from a judicious, a vigilant, and an affectionate friend. To him, likewise, I must refer you for an account of public affairs, not well knowing what to say of them myself. This much, however, I can assure you, that they are in the hands (and in the hands they are likely to remain) of our professed friends.* As for myself, both gratitude and prudence, together with your particular advice, have determined me, as they ought, to join in

* Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.

*his** interest, whom you were formerly desirous of associating with you in mine. You are sensible, nevertheless, how difficult it is to renounce our old and habitual notions of politics; especially under a full persuasion of their rectitude. However, I conform myself to his system, since I cannot, with any decency, oppose him; and whatever some may perhaps imagine, I am, by no means, acting in this a counterfeit part. The truth of it is, Pompey has gained such an absolute possession of my esteem, that I begin to look upon every thing as just and reasonable, which falls in with his interest or inclination.† I should think, too, it would be no imprudent resolution, even in his adversaries themselves, to desist from an opposition to which they are evidently unequal. In the mean time, I have the satisfaction to find the world in general agreed, that my character requires I should support, or at least not obstruct, the measures of Pompey; while some are even of opinion I may reasonably retire from all public business, to my favourite pursuits of a literary kind. And, indeed, were I not prevented by my friendship to Pompey, I should most certainly adopt this latter scheme, as of all others the most suitable to my inclinations. For I can now no

* Pompey.

† See Letter 17. Book ii.

longer maintain that dignity in the senate, and that freedom in the commonwealth, which was the single motive of my ambition, and the sole end I proposed to myself in all my labours; a misfortune, however, which is not peculiar to myself, but extends to every Roman in general. In a word, I am under the sad necessity either of tamely submitting to the sentiments of those few who lead the republic, or of imprudently joining in a weak and fruitless opposition.* I the rather mention this, that you may deliberate, before you return amongst us, what part it may be advisable for you to act in the present conjuncture. To speak freely, the measures both of those of Senatorian and Equestrian

* A determined patriot could not have been reduced to the alternative which Cicero here mentions; as there was a third expedient which every man of strict political integrity, who dared to act up to his principles, would undoubtedly have embraced. "An honest physician," says Sir William Temple, "is excused for leaving his patient, when he "finds the disease growing desperate, and can, by his at-"tendance, expect only to receive his own fees, without "any hopes or appearance of deserving them." Our author, in one of his orations, mentions it to the immortal honour of the celebrated Metellus, that *de Civitate decedere quam de sententia maluit*; and he who is actuated by the same sublime patriotism, will never find himself under the poor necessity of justifying wrong measures by the impossibility of enforcing right ones. See Let. 17. Book ii.

rank, and indeed the whole system of the commonwealth in general, are totally changed. All, therefore, that I have now to wish, is the preservation of the public tranquillity, which those, who are in the administration, seem to give us a prospect of enjoying, if a certain party could be prevailed upon to submit with less impatience to their power. As to any hopes of supporting, in the senate, that true consular character of a firm and inflexible patriot, it is in vain now to expect it; every mean for that purpose is totally lost, by the mistaken conduct of those who disobliged Pompey,* and dissolved that strong union which subsisted between the senate and the Equestrian order.†

* Pompey was very desirous of having the several grants which he had made to the cities of Asia, after his defeat of Mithridates, confirmed by the senate, in which he was strongly opposed by Cato, Metellus Celer, Lucullus, and others. This occasioned a breach between Pompey and the senate, and gave Cæsar an opportunity of establishing an interest with the former; which, at that juncture, he found necessary for his purposes. Accordingly, being soon after elected consul, he procured a law from the people to ratify these acts. *Suet. in Jul. Cæs.* 19.

† The farmers of the public revenues, who were composed of the principal persons among the Equestrian order, having, as they pretended, rented some branch of the finances at too high a rate, applied to the senate for relief. Their demands, it seems, were unreasonable; however, in the si-

But to return to what more immediately relates to your own private affairs;---Pompey is extremely your friend, and, by all that I can observe, you may obtain any thing you shall desire during his consulship.* At least I shall solicit him very strenuously for that purpose, and you may rely upon my most active offices in every instance where you are concerned. I am well persuaded my assiduity upon this occasion will not be disagreeable to him; on the contrary, he will receive it with pleasure, were it for no other reason than as affording him a proof of my grateful disposition. In the mean time, I entreat you to believe, that whatever bears the least connection with your interests, is of more im-

tuation wherein public affairs then stood, it was thought prudent by the more moderate party, not to disoblige so considerable a body of men. But Cato obstinately opposed their demands; and, by his means, the senate, after keeping them in suspense for several months, at length rejected their petition. But Cæsar, who knew how to turn every incident to his advantage, took up the interests of these knights; and, in his consulship, obtained from the people a remission of one-third part of the stipulated rent. This single piece of policy, (as one of the Greek historians observes,) gave him a more considerable accession of power, even than he had before acquired by means of the people, as it gained over a much more important order to his party. *Ad Att.* ii. 1. *Suet. in Jul. Cæs.* 20. *Ap. B. C.* ii.

* Pompey and Crassus were at this time consuls.

portance to me than my own. From these sentiments it is, that I despair not only of being able to return, but even sufficiently to acknowledge, the infinite obligations I owe you, though, at the same time, I am conscious of having exerted, upon all occasions, the most unwearied endeavours in your service.

It is rumoured here that you have obtained a complete victory, and we impatiently expect an express with the confirmation of this agreeable news. I have already talked with Pompey upon this subject, and as soon as your courier arrives, I shall employ my utmost diligence in convening the senate. In fine, were I to perform much more for your interest than lies within the compass of my present power, I should still think I had fallen short of what you have a right to expect. Farewell.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 698.]

TO MARCUS MARIUS.*

If your general valetudinary disposition prevented you from being a spectator of our late public

* The person to whom this letter is addressed, seems to have been of a temper and constitution, that placed him far

entertainments,* it is more to fortune than to philosophy, that I am to impute your absence. But if you declined our party for no other reason than as holding in just contempt, what the generality of the world so absurdly admire, I must at once congratulate you both on your health and your judgment. I say this upon a supposition, however, that you were enjoying the philosophical advantages of that delightful scene, in which, I imagine, you were almost wholly deserted. At the same time, that your neighbours, probably, were nodding over the dull humour of our trite farces; my friend, I dare say, was indulging his morning meditations in that elegant apartment, from whence you have opened a prospect to Sejanum, through the Stabian hills.†

below the ambition of being known to posterity. But a private letter from Cicero's hand has been sufficient to dispel the obscurity he appears to have loved, and to render his retirement conspicuous.

* They were exhibited by Pompey, at the opening of his theatre; one of the most magnificent structures of ancient Rome, and so extensive, as to contain no less than 80,000 spectators. It was built after the model of one which he saw at Mitylene, in his return from the Mithridatic war; and adorned with the noblest ornaments of statuary and painting. Some remains of this immense building still subsist. *Liv.* xxxix. *Plin. H. N.* vii. 3. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

† Sejanum, (if that be the true reading, for the MSS. differ extremely,) is found in no other ancient author. Stabiæ

And whilst you are employing the rest of the day in those various polite amusements, which you have the happy privilege to plan out for yourself; we, alas! had the mortification of tamely enduring those dramatical representations, to which Mætius,* it seems, our professed critic, had given his

was a maritime town in Campania, situated upon the bay of Naples, from whence the adjoining hills here mentioned took their name. One may figure the philosophical Marius as looking down upon the world from this his delightful retirement, with reflections of the same kind as those which the poet has so exquisitely imaged in the following beautiful lines:

Here, on a single plank, thrown safe on shore,
I hear the tumult of the distant throng,
As that of seas remote, or dying storms,
And meditate on scenes more silent still.
Here, like a shepherd gazing from his hut,
Touching his reed, or leaning on his staff,
Eager ambition's fiery chase I see:
I see the circling hunt of noisy men
Burst law's inclosure, leap the mounds of right,
Pursuing and pursued; each other's prey;
As wolves for rapine, as the fox for wiles:
Till death, that mighty hunter, earths them all!

YOUNG.

* This person is supposed, by the commentators, to be the same to whose judgment Horace advises the Pisos to refer their poetical compositions:

——————*Si quid tamen olim*
Scripseris, in Mati descendat judicis aures. Art Poet. 386.

infallible sanction! but as you will have the curiosity, perhaps, to require a more particular account, I must tell you, that though our entertainments were extremely magnificent indeed, yet they were by no means such as you would have relished; at least if I may judge of your taste by my own. Some of those actors who had formerly distinguished themselves with great applause, but had long since retired, I imagined, in order to preserve the

But the compliment paid in these lines to the taste of Metius, ill agrees with the contemptuous manner in which Cicero here speaks of Pompey's Dramatic Censor.

It appears by an ancient scholiast on Horace, that Augustus instituted a kind of poetical court of judicature, consisting of five judges; the chief of which was Metius Tarpa, mentioned in the verses above quoted. They held their assemblies in the temple of Apollo; and no poet was permitted to bring his play upon the stage without their approbation. Domitian seems to have improved upon this establishment, and extended it into an academy that distributed prizes to those who excelled, not only in poetical, but prose compositions. We have seen societies of this sort formed among our neighbour nations, with good effect; and perhaps, if in this instance, as well as in some others, we were to follow their example, it might prove a mean, not only of refining our language, and encouraging a spirit of polite literature, but of calling off our minds from those political speculations, which, though the privilege, indeed, are not always the happiness of every idle Briton. *Dac. remarq. sur la* x. *Sat. du* 1. *live d'Horace. Suet. in Domit.* 4.

reputation they had raised, were now again introduced upon the stage; as in honour, it seems, of the festival. Among these was my old friend Æsopus:*

* He excelled in tragedy, and was the most celebrated actor that had ever appeared upon the Roman stage. Cicero experienced the advantage of his friendship and his talents during his exile; for Æsopus being engaged in a part upon the stage, wherein there were several passages that might be applied to our author's misfortunes, this excellent tragedian pronounced them with so peculiar and affecting an emphasis, that the whole audience immediately took the allusion; and it had a better effect, as Cicero acknowledges, than any thing his own eloquence could have expressed for the same purpose. But it is not in this instance alone that Cicero was obliged to Æsopus, as it was by the advantage of his precepts and example, that he laid the foundation of his oratorical fame, and improved himself in the art of elocution. The high value which the Romans set upon the talents of this pathetic actor, appears by the immense estate which he acquired in his profession, for he died worth almost 200,000l. sterling. He left a son behind him, whose remarkable extravagance is recorded by the Roman satirist. This youth having received a present from a favourite lady of a pearl out of her ear, worth a million of sesterces, or about 8000l. of our money, dissolved it in a liquid, and gallantly drank it off; to the health, we may suppose, of his generous mistress. Pliny the naturalist, who likewise mentions this story, adds, that he presented, at the same time, to each of his guests, a cup of the same valuable ingredient. *Orat. pro Sext.* 56. *Plut. in vit. Cicer. Macrob. Saturn.* ii. 10. *Hor. sat.* ii. 3, ver. 239. *Plin. H. N.* x. 51.

but so different from what we once knew him, that the whole audience agreed he ought to be excused from acting any more. For when he was pronouncing the celebrated oath,

If I deceive, be Jove's dread vengeance hurled, &c.

the poor old man's voice failed him; and he had not strength to go through with the speech. As to the other parts of our theatrical entertainments, you know the nature of them so well, that it is scarce necessary to mention them. They had less, indeed, to plead in their favour than even the most ordinary representations of this kind can usually claim. The enormous parade with which they were attended, and which, I dare say, you would very willingly have spared, destroyed all the grace of the performance. What pleasure could it afford to a judicious spectator, to see a thousand mules prancing about the stage, in the tragedy of Clytæmnestra; or whole regiments accoutred in foreign armour, in that of the *Trojan Horse?* In a word, what man of sense could be entertained with viewing a mock army drawn up on the stage in battle array? These, I confess, are spectacles extremely well adapted to captivate vulgar eyes; but undoubtedly would have had no charm in yours. In plain truth, my friend, you would have received more amusement from the dullest piece that Protogenes could possibly have

read to you,* (my own orations, however, let me always except,) than we met with at these ridiculous shows. I am well persuaded, at least, you could not regret the loss of our Oscian and Grecian farces.† Your own noble senate will always furnish you with drollery sufficient of the former kind:‡ and as to the latter, I know you have such an utter aversion to every thing that bears the name of Greek, that

* It was usual with persons of distinction amongst the Romans to keep a slave in their family, whose sole business it was to read to them. Protogenes seems to have attended Marius in that capacity.

† The Oscian farces were so called from the Osci, an ancient people of Campania, from whom the Romans received them. They seem to have been of the same kind with our Bartholomew drolls, and to have consisted of low and obscene humour. As to the nature of the Greek farces, the critics are not agreed. Manutius supposes they differed only from the former, as being written in the Greek language. But it does not appear that Greek plays were ever represented upon the Roman stage; and the most probable account of them is, that they were a sort of pantomimes in imitation of those on the Grecian theatre. *Liv.* vii. 2. *Mong. rem. sur les lett. à Att.* vi. 4. 9.

‡ The municipal or corporate towns in Italy were governed by magistrates of their own, who probably made much the same sort of figure in their rural senate, as our Burgesses in their town-hall. This, at least, seems to have been the case in that corporation to which Marius belonged, and to have given occasion to our author's raillery.

you will not even travel the Grecian road to your villa.* As I remember you once despised our formidable gladiators,† I cannot suppose you would have

* Perhaps the Grecian road might be much out of repair, and little frequented at the time when this letter was written; and on that circumstance Cicero, it is possible, may have founded his witticism. Among the many instances of Roman magnificence, that of their public roads is particularly observable. They were formed at an immense cost, and extended to a great distance from all sides of the city. Lipsius computes the Appian way at 350 miles, some part of which still remains as entire as when it was first made; though it has now subsisted above 1800 years. It is twelve feet broad, and chiefly composed of blue stones, about a foot and a half square. Criminals of a less atrocious sort were generally employed in those useful works; and, perhaps, it might be well worthy the consideration of the legislature, whether punishments of this kind, in delinquencies of the same nature, might not, in all respects, be of more advantage to the public, than that which seems to have so little effect in restraining the violences that are daily committed among us. *Lisp. de magnif. Rom. Burnet's Trav. let.* iv. *Plin. Epist.* x. 33.

† Grævius supposes, (and it is a conjecture extremely probable,) that this alludes to some services which Cicero had received from Marius, in defending him against the outrages of Clodius's mob.

The first show of gladiators exhibited in Rome was given by the Bruti, in honour of their father's obsequies; about 200 years before the date of this letter. Originally the un-

looked with less contempt on our athletic* performers; and, indeed, Pompey himself acknowledges, that

happy wretches, who were exposed in this manner, were either prisoners taken in war, or public criminals; but in process of time it grew into a profession, and there were men who hired themselves out for this purpose. Atticus, who seems to have omitted no opportunity of improving his finances, had a band of gladiators, which he let out on public occasions, to those who were not rich enough to maintain them at their own expence. The passion for these combats became at length so immoderate, that it was usual to exhibit matches of gladiators at their private entertainments; and not only men of the first quality, but even women, entered these lists. Reason, most undoubtedly, cannot but rise up against spectacles of this sanguinary kind. It is observable, however, that they were not introduced among the Romans till they began to be civilized; and their passion for these cruel combats seems to have gathered strength in proportion as their manners, in all other respects, became more refined. There is, indeed, a wonderful disposition in human nature, to be pleased with sights of horror; which even the most polite nations, in their highest periods of improvement, have not been able entirely to subdue. A very ingenious French writer imagines, that if we did not profess a religion which absolutely forbids the wanton destruction of our species, we should soon convert our prize-fighters into gladiators, and be as sanguinary in our diversions as the Romans themselves. *Liv.* xxxix. 22. *Ad Att.* iv. 8. *Strab.* v. p. 173. *Stat. Sylv.* i. 6. *ver.* 53. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 39. *Reflex. sur la poes. et sur la peint.* i. 18.

* The athletic games were of a less cruel kind than those

they did not answer the pains and expence they had cost him. The remainder of our diversions consisted in combats of wild beasts,* which were exhibited every morning and afternoon during five days successively; and it must be owned, they were magnificent. Yet, after all, what entertainment can possibly arise to an elegant and humanised mind, from seeing a noble beast struck to the heart by its merciless hunter, or one of our own weak species cruelly mangled by an animal of much superior strength? But were there any thing really worth observing in spectacles of this savage kind, they are spectacles extremely familiar to you: and those

described in the preceding note, as they principally consisted of running, wrestling, and boxing-matches. It sometimes happened, indeed, that one of the combatants lost his life; but this was contrary to the laws of the sport; and if it appeared to have been the effect of design in his adversary, though he was not punished with death, he was punished in a way still more dreaded, by being deprived of the crown that would otherwise have been due to his victory. Pausanias mentions an athletic combatant, who, having incurred this penalty, was so affected by the disgrace, that he lost his senses.

* Beasts of the wildest and most uncommon kinds were sent for, upon these occasions, from every corner of the known world; and Dion Cassius relates, that no less than 500 lions were killed at these hunting-matches, with which Pompey entertained the people. *Dio.* lib. xxxix.

I am speaking of had not any peculiar novelty to recommend them. The last day's sport was composed entirely of elephants; which, though they made the common people stare, indeed, did not seem, however, to afford them any great satisfaction. On the contrary, the terrible slaughter of these poor animals, created a general commiseration; as it is a prevailing notion, that these creatures, in some degree, participate of our rational faculties.*

That you may not imagine I had the happiness of being perfectly at my ease during the whole of this pompous festival, I must acquaint you, that while the people were amusing themselves at the plays, I was almost killed with the fatigue of pleading for your friend Gallus Caninius. Were the world as much inclined to favour my retreat, as they shewed themselves in the case of Æsopus, believe me, I would for ever renounce my art, and spend the remainder of my days with you and some others of the same philosophical turn. The truth of it is, I began to grow weary of this employment,

* This was not merely a vulgar opinion, but entertained by some of the learned among the ancients, as appears from the last cited historian; who likewise takes notice how much the spectators of Pompey's shows were affected by the mournful cries of these poor animals. *Dio.* lib. xxxix.

even at a time when youth and ambition prompted my perseverance; and I will add, too, when I was at full liberty to exercise it in defence of those only whom I was inclined to assist. But, in my present circumstances, it is absolute slavery. For, on the one side, I never expect to reap any advantage from my labours of this kind; and, on the other, in compliance with solicitations, which I cannot refuse, I am sometimes under the disagreeable necessity of appearing as an advocate in behalf of those who ill deserve that favour at my hands.* For these reasons, I am framing every possible pretence for living hereafter according to my own taste and sentiments; as I highly both approve and applaud that retired scene of life which you have so judiciously chosen. I am sensible, at the same time, that this is the reason you so seldom visit Rome. However, I the less regret that you do not see it oftener, as the numberless unpleasing occupations in which I am engaged would prevent me from enjoying the entertainment of your conversation, or giving you that of mine: if mine, indeed, can afford you any.

* Cicero was now wholly under the influence of Pompey and Cæsar; but the particular instances of his unworthy submission, to which he here only alludes, are mentioned more fully in a subsequent letter to Lentulus, and will be considered in the remarks on that epistle. See Letter 17. Book ii.

But if ever I should be so fortunate as to disentangle myself, in some degree at least, (for I am contented not to be wholly released,) from these perplexing embarrassments, I will undertake to shew, even my elegant friends, wherein the truest refinements of life consist. In the mean while, continue to take care of your health, that you may be able, when that happy time shall arrive, to accompany me in my litter to my several villas.

You must impute it to the excess of my friendship, and not to the abundance of my leisure, that I have lengthened this letter beyond my usual extent. It was merely in compliance with a request in one of yours, where you intimate a desire that I would compensate in this manner what you lost by not being present at our public diversions. I shall be extremely glad if I have succeeded; if not, I shall have the satisfaction, however, to think, that you will, for the future, be more inclined to give us your company on these occasions, than to rely on my letters for your amusement. Farewell.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 698.]

TO QUINTUS PHILIPPUS, PROCONSUL.*

THOUGH I am too well convinced of your friendship and esteem, to suspect that you are unmindful of my former application in behalf of my friends Oppius and Egnatius; yet, I cannot forbear again recommending their joint affairs to your protection. My connection, indeed, with the latter, is of so powerful a kind, that I could not be more solicitous for my own personal concerns. I entreat you, therefore, to give him proofs of my enjoying that share of your affection, which I persuade myself I possess; and be assured you cannot shew me a

* The person to whom this letter is addressed, and the time when it was written, are equally unknown. Pighius supposes he was governor of Asia, in the year of Rome 708. But, in this instance, the usual accuracy of that laborious annalist seems to have failed him. For it appears, by a letter of congratulation which Cicero writes to Philippus upon his return from the province, that he must have been proconsul at some period previous to the civil war: *Gratulor tibi* (says he) *quod ex provincia salvum te ad tuos recepisti* incolumi *fama* et REPUBLICA. *Epist. Famil.* xiii. 73. See Let. 22. Book ii.

more agreeable instance of your friendship. Farewell.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 699.]

TO MARCUS LICINIUS CRASSUS.*

I AM persuaded that all your friends have informed you of the zeal with which I lately both defended and promoted your dignities: † as indeed it was

* He had been twice consul in conjunction with Pompey, and was at this time governor of Syria; to which province he succeeded at the expiration of his second consulate, the year preceding the date of this letter. He was esteemed among the considerable orators of his age; but his principal distinction seems to have been his immense wealth, the greatest part of which he acquired by sharing in the confiscated estates of those unhappy victims who fell a sacrifice to the cruel ambition of Sylla. In his first consulate he gave a general treat to the people upon ten thousand tables, and, at the same time, distributed to them a largess of three months provision of corn. *Plut. in vit. Crassi. Dion. Cass.* xxxix.

† Crassus accepted the province of Syria merely with a design of making war upon the Parthians; for which, however, there was no other pretence than what his boundless avarice and ambition suggested. Accordingly, some of the tribunes endeavoured to obstruct his levies for this expedition; and when that attempt failed, Ateius, one of their

too warm and too conspicuous to have been passed over in silence. The opposition I met with from the consuls,* as well as from several others of consular rank, was the strongest I ever encountered; and you must now look upon me as your declared advocate upon all occasions, where your glory is concerned. Thus have I abundantly compensated for the intermission of those good offices, which the friendship between us had long given you a right to claim; but which, by a variety of accidents, have lately been somewhat interrupted. There never was a time, believe me, when I wanted an inclination to cultivate your esteem, or promote your interest. Though, it must be owned, a certain set of men, who are the bane of all amicable intercourse,

number, had recourse to certain superstitious ceremonies of their religion, and devoted him in form to destruction. It was a general persuasion that none ever escaped the effect of those mysterious execrations; and, in the present instance, the event happened to correspond with this popular belief; for Crassus, together with his army, perished in this enterprize. The judicious Manutius conjectures, that after Crassus had left Rome, some motion was made in the senate for recalling him, which gave occasion to Cicero's services, and to the present letter. This supposition, however, though indeed highly probable, is not supported by any of the historians. *Plut. in vit. Crassi. Dio.* xxxix. *Vel. Pat.* ii. 46.

* The consuls of this year were L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Appius Claudius Pulcher.

and who envied us the mutual honour that resulted from ours, have, upon some occasions, been so unhappily successful as to create a coolness between us.† It has happened, however, (what I rather wish-

† How effectually soever Cicero might have served Crassus upon the occasion to which this letter relates, it is most certain his good offices did not proceed from a principle of friendship. It is extremely probable, indeed, that his supporting the cause of Crassus in the senate, is one of those instances of our author's subjection, of which he complains in the preceding letter; and that it was entirely in compliance with the inclinations of Cæsar and Pompey, with whom Crassus was now united. The coolness, here mentioned, seems to have subsisted ever since the affair of Catiline; in whose conspiracy, as one of the witnesses examined upon that occasion deposed, Crassus was concerned. There were few, indeed, who gave credit to this evidence; and the senate, upon the motion of Cicero, voted it false and malicious. Crassus, nevertheless, assured Sallust, (as that historian declares,) that this affront was thrown upon him by the artifices of Cicero himself. But whether Crassus had any just ground for this suspicion, or whether it was suggested to him by the false insinuations of those to whom Cicero here alludes, is a question by no means capable of being determined by any circumstance in the history or character of the two men. It is certain that Crassus, from this time, conceived a strong and lasting aversion to our author; as, on the other hand, that Cicero, after the death of Crassus, published an oration, in which he expressly charged him with being engaged in this conspiracy. However, a formal reconciliation had lately passed between them,

ed than expected,) that I have found an opportunity, even when your affairs were in the most prosperous train, of giving a public testimony by my services to you, that I always most sincerely preserved the remembrance of our former amity. The truth is, I have approved myself your friend, not only to the full conviction of your family in particular, but of all Rome in general. In consequence of which, that most valuable of women, your excellent wife,* together with those illustrious models of virtue and filial piety, your two amiable sons, have perpetual recourse to my assistance and advice; and the whole world is sensible, that no one is more zealously disposed to serve you than myself.

Your family correspondents have informed you, I imagine, of what has hitherto passed in your affair, as well as of what is at present in agitation. As for myself, I intreat you to do me the justice to believe, that it was not any sudden start of in-

and when Crassus set out for his eastern expedition, they parted with all the exterior marks of a sincere friendship. *Ad Att.* iv. 13. *Sallust. Bel. Cat.* 49. *Plut. in vit. Crassi. Epist. Fam.* i. 9.

* This lady's name was Tertulla; and, if Suetonius may be credited, she was better acquainted with some of Cæsar's talents than was altogether consistent with her being (what Cicero here calls her) *the most valuable of all women. Suet. in J. Cæs.* 50.

clination, which disposed me to embrace this opportunity of vindicating your honour; on the contrary, it was my ambition, from the first moment I entered the forum, to be ranked in the number of your friends.* I have the satisfaction to reflect, that I have never, from that time to this hour, failed in the highest sentiments of esteem for you; and, I doubt not, you have always retained the same affectionate regard towards me. If the effects of this mutual disposition have been interrupted by any little suspicions, (for suspicions only, I am sure they were,) be the remembrance of them for ever blotted out of our hearts. I am persuaded, indeed, from those virtues which form *your* character, and from those which I am desirous should distinguish *mine*, that our friendly union, in the present conjuncture, cannot but be attended with equal honour to us both. What instances you may be willing to give me of your esteem, must be left to your own determination; but they will be such, I flatter myself, as may tend most to advance my dignities. For my own part, I faithfully promise the utmost exertion of my best services, in every article wherein I can contribute to increase yours. Many, I know, will be my rivals in these amicable offices;

* Crassus was almost ten years older than Cicero; so that when the latter first appeared at the bar, the former had already established a character by his oratorical abilities.

but it is a contention in which all the world, I question not, and particularly your two sons, will acknowledge my superiority. Be assured, I love them both in a very uncommon degree; though I will own, that Publius* is my favourite. From his infancy, indeed, he discovered a singular regard to me, as he particularly distinguishes me at this time with all the marks even of filial respect and affection.

Let me desire you to consider this letter, not as a strain of unmeaning compliment, but as a sacred and solemn covenant of friendship, which I shall most sincerely and religiously observe.† I shall

* Whatever sincerity might be wanting in our author's professions of friendship to the father, it is certain he had a very unfeigned affection for the son; as, indeed, Cicero had been greatly obliged to his zealous services when he was persecuted by Clodius. Soon after this letter was written, Publius followed his father with a body of Gallic cavalry into Parthia, where he behaved with uncommon bravery, but perished in that unfortunate expedition. He fell not, indeed, by the enemy, but by the hand of one of his attendants, who stabbed him by his own orders, as scorning to survive so shameful a defeat. *Cic. in Brut. Plut. in vit. Crassi.*

† It has been asserted, in these remarks, that Cicero acted a counterfeit part in his professions of friendship to Crassus; but as he here very strongly affirms the contrary, it will be proper to produce the evidence. This, indeed, is Cicero

now persevere in being the advocate of your honours, not only from a motive of affection, but from a principle of constancy; and without any application on your part, you may depend on my embracing every opportunity, wherein I shall think my services may prove agreeable to your interest, or your inclinations. Can you once doubt, then, that any request to me for this purpose, either by yourself or your family, will meet with a most punctual observance? I hope, therefore, you will not scruple to employ me in all your concerns, of what nature or importance soever, as one who is most faithfully your friend; and that you will direct your family to apply to me in all their affairs of every kind, whether relating to you or to themselves, to

himself, who, in a letter to Atticus, written not long before the present, and wherein he gives an account of the departure of Crassus for his Parthian expedition, speaks of him in a style utterly irreconcileable with the sentiments he here professes, and in terms of the utmost contempt. "*Crassum* "*nostrum*," says he, "*minore dignitate aiunt profectum palu-* "*datum, quam olim—L. Paulum.* O HOMINEM NEQUAM!" It must be owned, at the same time, that it is highly probable the heart of Crassus was as little concerned in their pretended reconcilement as that of Cicero; for Crassus generally regulated his attachments by his interest, and was no farther a friend or an enemy than as it suited with his avarice and ambition. *Ad Att.* iv. 13. *Plut. in vit. Crassi.*

their friends or their dependents. And be assured, I shall spare no pains to render your absence as little uneasy to them as possible. Farewell.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 699.]

TO JULIUS CÆSAR. *

I AM going to give you an instance how much I rely upon your affectionate services, not only towards myself, but in favour also of my friends. It was my intention, if I had gone abroad in any foreign employment, that Trebatius † should have accompanied me; and he would not have returned without receiving the highest and most advantageous honours I should have been able to have conferred upon him. But as Pompey, I find, defers setting out upon his commission longer than I imagined; ‡ and I am apprehensive, likewise,

* Cæsar was at this time in Gaul, preparing for his first expedition into Britain, which, as Tacitus observes, he rather discovered than conquered.

† See an account of him in the following letter.

‡ A law had lately passed, by which Pompey was invested with the government of Spain during five years; and it was upon this occasion that Cicero had thoughts of attending him as his lieutenant. Pompey, however, instead

that the doubts you know I entertain in regard to my attending him, may possibly prevent, as they will certainly at least delay, my journey, I take the liberty to refer Trebatius to *your* good offices, for those benefits he expected to have received from mine. I have ventured, indeed, to promise, that he will find you full as well-disposed to advance his interest, as I have always assured him he would find me; and a very extraordinary circumstance occurred, which seemed to confirm this opinion I entertained of your generosity. For, in the very instant I was talking with Balbus upon this subject, your letter was delivered to me; in the close of which you pleasantly tell me, that, "in compliance "with my request, you will make Orfius king of "Gaul, or assign him over to Lepta, and advance "any other person whom I should be inclined to "recommend." This had so remarkable a coincidence with our discourse, that it struck both Balbus and myself as a sort of a happy omen, that had something in it more than accidental.* As it was

of going to his province, chose to continue in Italy; though he seems to have amused Cicero with a notion of his intending the contrary: for it appears, by a letter to Atticus, written towards the latter end of this year, that our author had fixed the day for his departure.—*Plut. in vit. Pomp. Ad Att.* iv. 18.

* Among the various kinds of omens observed with much

my intention, therefore, before I received your letter, to have transmitted Trebatius to you; so I now consign him to your patronage, as upon your own invitation. Receive him then, my dear Cæsar, with your usual generosity; and distinguish him with every honour that my solicitations can induce

superstition by the Romans, that of words happening to coincide with any particular subject under consideration, was esteemed of singular regard. A remarkable instance of this sort is recorded by Livy. After the burning of Rome by the Gauls, it was debated, whether the capital city should not be removed into the country of the Veii. This point was long and warmly discussed, till, at length, the question was decided by an officer of the guards, who, accidentally passing by the senate-house with his company, called out to the ensign, *Signifer, statue signum: hic manebimus optime.* These words being heard by the fathers in council, were considered as a divine intimation; and it was immediately and unanimously agreed to rebuild the city on its former scite. Cæsar, of all the Roman historians, has most avoided the marvellous of this kind; and it is observable, that he does not mention a single prodigy throughout his whole Commentaries, except in his relation of the battle of Pharsalia. Upon that occasion, indeed, he very artfully falls in with this popular superstition, and gives an account of many predictive intimations of that day's important event. And nothing, in truth, could be more to his purpose, than this indirect manner of persuading his countrymen that the Gods were parties in his cause.—*Liv.* v. 55. *Cæs. bel. civ.* iii. 85.

you to confer. I do not recommend him in the manner you so justly rallied, when I wrote to you in favour of Orfius; but I will take upon me to assure you, in true Roman sincerity, that there lives not a man of greater modesty and merit. I must not forget to mention also, (what indeed is his distinguishing qualification,) that he is eminently skilled in the laws of his country,* and happy in an uncommon strength of memory. I will not point out any particular piece of preferment which I wish you to bestow upon him; I will only in general intreat you to admit him into a share of your friendship. Nevertheless, if you should think proper to distinguish him with the tribunate or præfecture,†

* The profession of the law was held among the Romans, as it is with us, in great esteem; but this body of men seem, in general, to have acted rather in the nature of our chamber counsel, than as advocates at the bar. The law was properly the province of those whom they called their *orators*; and for which every man of good sense, a ready utterance, and a general knowledge of the constitutions of his country, was thought qualified.—*Cic. de off.* ii. 19. *de Orat.* 55, &c.

† The military tribunes were next in rank to the lieutenants or commanders in chief under the general; as the *præfectus legionis* was the most honourable post in the Roman armies after that of the military tribunes. The business of the former was, among other articles, to decide all controversies that arose among the soldiers; and that of the latter was to carry the chief standard of the legion.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 699.]

TO TREBATIUS.

I PERCEIVE, by your letter, that my friend Cæsar looks upon you as a most wonderful lawyer; and are you not happy in being thus placed in a country where you make so considerable a figure upon so small a stock? * But with how much greater

* The ludicrous author of the *Tale of a Tub* has applied this passage with more humour, perhaps, than it was first conceived. He is accounting for the propagation of the several absurd doctrines of philosophy and religion that have prevailed in the world, by supposing, that every system-maker is always sure of finding a set of disciples, whose tone of understanding is exactly pitched to the absurdity or extravagance of his tenets. "And in this one circumstance," says he, "lies all the skill or luck of the matter. Cicero "understood this very well, when writing to a friend in "England, with a caution, among other matters, to beware "of being cheated by our hackney-coachmen, (who, it "seems, in those days, were as arrant rascals as they are "now,) has these remarkable words, *est quod gaudeas te in "ista loca venisse, ubi aliquid sapere viderere.* For, to speak "a bold truth, it is a fatal miscarriage, so ill to order affairs, as to pass for a fool in one company, when in another you might be treated as a philosopher; which I

advantage would your noble talents have appeared, had you gone into Britain? Undoubtedly there would not have been so profound a sage in the law throughout all that extensive island.

Since your epistle has provoked me to be thus jocose, I will proceed in the same strain, and tell you, there was one part of it I could not read without some envy; and how, indeed, could it be otherwise, when I found, that, whilst much greater men were in vain attempting to get admittance to Cæsar, you were singled out from the crowd, and even summoned to an audience? * But, after giving me an account of affairs which concern others, why were you silent as to your own, assured as you are that I interest myself in them with as much zeal as if they immediately related to myself? Accordingly, as I am extremely afraid you will have no *employment* to keep you warm in your winter-quarters, I would, by all means, advise you to lay in a suffi-

" desire some certain gentlemen of my acquaintance to lay " up in their hearts as a very seasonable inuendo."—*Tale of a Tub*, p. 164.

* Trebatius, it is probable, had informed Cicero, in the letter to which this is an answer, that he had been summoned by Cæsar to attend him as his assessor upon some trial; which seems to have led our author into the railleries of this and the preceding passages.

cient quantity of fuel. Both Mucius and Manilius* have *given their opinions* to the same purpose; especially as your *regimentals,* they apprehend, will scarce be ready soon enough to secure you against the approaching cold. We hear, however, there has been *hot* work in your part of the world, which somewhat alarmed me for your safety; but I comforted myself with considering, that you are not altogether so *desperate* a soldier, as you are a lawyer. It is a wonderful consolation, indeed, to your friends, to be assured, that your passions are not an over-match for your prudence. Thus, as much as I know you love the water,† you

* Mucius and Manilius, it must be supposed, were two lawyers, and particular friends of Trebatius, as the humour of this witticism evidently consists in an allusion to that profession.

† In the original it is *studiosissimus homo natandi*, the ambiguity of which could not have been preserved in a more literal translation. The art of swimming was among the number of polite exercises in ancient Rome, and esteemed a necessary qualification for every gentleman. Thus we find Cato the elder himself instructing his son in this accomplishment; as Augustus likewise performed the same office in the education of his two grandsons, Caius and Lucius. It was indeed one of the essential arts in military discipline, as both the soldiers and officers had frequently no other means of pursuing or retreating from the enemy. Accordingly, the *Campus Martius*, a place where the Roman

would not venture, I find, to *cross* it with Cæsar; and though nothing could keep you from the *com-*

youth were taught the science of arms, was situated on the banks of the Tiber; and they constantly finished their exercises of this kind by throwing themselves into the river. This shews the wonderful propriety of those noble lines which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Cassius, in that masterly scene where he is endeavouring to sound the sentiments, and fire the indignation, of Brutus towards Cæsar:

——— We can both
Endure the winter's cold as well as he.
For once upon a raw and gusty day,
The troubled Tiber chafing with his shores,
Cæsar says to me, "Darest thou, Cassius, now
Leap in with me into this angry flood,
And swim to yonder point?" Upon the word,
Accoutred as I was, I plunged in,
And bade him follow; so indeed he did.
The torrent roared, and we did buffet it
With lusty sinews, throwing it aside,
And stemming it with hearts of controversy.
But ere we could arrive the point proposed,
Cæsar cried, "Help me, Cassius, or I sink."
I, as Æneas, our great ancestor,
Did from the flames of Troy, upon his shoulder,
The old Anchises bear, so from the waves of Tiber
Did I the tired Cæsar; and this man
Is now become a god, &c.

Monsieur Dacier observes, that this passage of Cicero discovers the justness of those verses in Horace, where Treba-

*bats** in Rome, you were much too wise, I perceive, to attend them in Britain. †

But pleasantry apart: you know, without my telling you, with what zeal I have recommended you to Cæsar; though, perhaps, you may not be apprised, that I have frequently, as well as warmly, written to him upon that subject. I had, for some time, indeed, intermitted my solicitations, as I would not seem to distrust his friendship and generosity; however, I thought proper, in my last, to remind him once more of his promise. I desire you would let me know what effect my letter has produced, and, at the same time, give me a full account of every thing that concerns you. For I am exceedingly anxious to be informed of the prospect and situation of your affairs, as well as how long you imagine your absence is likely to continue. Be persuaded, that nothing could reconcile me to this separation, but the hopes of its proving to your

tius is represented as advising the Roman satirist to swim across the Tiber, as an excellent remedy against his poetical propensity; since, like other physicians, he prescribed a regimen, it seems, most agreeable to his own taste and practice.—*Plut. in vit. Cato. Censor. Suet. in vit. Augusti*, 64. *Veget. de re milit*, i. 10. *Dacier rem. sur la Sat.* i. *du liv.* ii. *d'Hor.*

* Alluding to his fondness of the gladiatorial games.

† See p. 143. note.

advantage. In any other view, I should not be so impolitic as not to insist on your return; as you would be too prudent, I dare say, to delay it. The truth is, one hour's gay or serious conversation together, is of more importance to us, than all the foes, and all the friends, that the whole nation of Gaul can produce. I entreat you, therefore, to send me an immediate account in what posture your affairs stand; and be assured, as honest Chremes says to his neighbour in the play,*

> Whatever cares thy lab'ring bosom grieve,
> My tongue shall soothe them, or my hand relieve.

Farewell.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 699.]

TO THE SAME.

You remember the character given of the Phrygians in the play,† "that their wisdom ever came "too late;" but you are resolved, my dear cautious

* In Terence's play called the *Self-tormentor.*

† A tragedy called the *Trojan Horse*, which seems, by Cicero's frequent quotations from it, to have been in great esteem.

old gentleman,* that no imputation of this kind shall be fixed upon you. Thank heaven, indeed, you wisely subdued the romantic spirit of your first letters, as you were not so obstinately bent upon new adventures, as to hazard a voyage for that purpose into Britain; and who, in troth, can blame you? It is the same disposition, I imagine, that has immovably fixed you in your winter-quarters, and certainly there is nothing like acting with circumspection upon all occasions. Take my word for it, prudence is the safest shield.

If it were usual with me to sup from home, most undoubtedly I could not refuse your gallant friend Octavius. I will own, however, I love to mortify the man's vanity; and, whenever he invites me, I always affect to look with some surprise, as not seeming to recollect his person. Seriously, he is a wondrous pretty fellow; what pity it is that you did not take him abroad with you! †

Let me know how you are employed, and whe-

* The celebrated Monsieur Dacier produces this passage as a proof that Trebatius must have been more than fourscore years of age, when Horace addressed the satire to him mentioned in the remarks on the preceding letter. But that learned critic has been led into this error, by taking in a serious sense what Cicero most evidently meant in a ludicrous one.

† See the conclusion of Let. xiii. p. 155.

ther there is any probability of seeing you in Italy this winter. Balbus assures me, that you will certainly return immensely rich; but, whether he means in the vulgar sense, or agreeably to the maxim of his friends the Stoics, who maintain, you know, "that every man is rich, who has the free "enjoyment of earth and air," is a doubt which time will clear up.

I find, by those who come from your part of the world, that you are grown wonderfully *reserved;* for they tell me, you answer no *queries.** However, it is on all hands a *settled point,* (and you have reason, certainly, to congratulate yourself upon it,) that you are the most profound sage in the law, throughout the whole city of Samarobriva.† Farewell.

* The witticism of this passage consists in the double sense of the verb *respondere*, which, besides its common acceptation, signifies likewise the giving *an opinion as a lawyer.* This conceit, such as it is, seems to have been a favourite one with our author; for he repeats it in a subsequent letter, where he is rallying another of his friends upon an occasion of the same nature. See Let. 23. of Book ii. But—

Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic
Omnia dixisset!———— JUV.

† A principal town in Gaul, now called Amiens, and where Trebatius seems to have had his winter-quarters.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 699.]

TO LENTULUS.

It is with singular pleasure I perceive, by your letter, that you are sensible, I will not say of my affection only, but of my devotion towards you. Even that sacred term, indeed, can but ill express the sentiments you merit from me; and if you esteem yourself (as you would persuade me) obliged by my endeavours to serve you, it is your friendship alone which can make you think so. I am sure, at least, I could not refuse you my best good offices, without being guilty of the most unpardonable ingratitude. You would have experienced, however, much stronger and more powerful instances of my friendship, if, instead of being thus long separated from each other, we had passed this interval together at Rome. It is not only in the particular article you mention, and in which no man is more qualified to shine, that I impatiently wish to receive you as my co-adjutor; it is not, I say, in the senate alone, that our amicable concurrence would have been distinguished; it would have appeared conspicuous, my friend, in every act of public concernment. Suffer me then to add,

previously to the information you request me to give you of my political sentiments and situation, that if fortune had not thus divided us, I should have enjoyed in you a wise and faithful guide; as you would have found in me, a kind, a friendly, and, perhaps, no inexperienced associate. However, I rejoice (as undoubtedly I ought) at the honourable occasion of your absence, and in which your military conduct and success has procured you the illustrious title of *Imperator*.* Nevertheless, I must repeat it again, it is owing to this circumstance, that you have not received far more abundant and efficacious fruits of that friendship, to which you have so undisputed a claim. In particular, I should most strenuously have united with you in taking just vengeance on those whose ill offices you have experienced; partly in resentment of your having supported and protected me in my adversity, and partly as they envy you the glory of so generous an action. One of them, however, has sufficiently anticipated our revenge, and drawn down, by his own hands, the chastisement he merits from ours. The person I mean, is that man who has ever distinguished himself by opposing his benefactors, and who, after having received from you

* History is altogether silent as to the occasion upon which Lentulus was saluted by his army with this title.

the highest services, singled you out as the object of his impotent malice. This man, in consequence of being detected in his late infamous attempts, has entirely and irretrievably lost at once both his honour and his liberty.* As to yourself, though I had much rather you should gain experience by my misfortunes than your own, yet it affords me some consolation, under your present disappointment,† that you have not paid so severe a fine as I did, for being taught the little dependence there is upon the professions of the world. A reflection this, which may very properly serve as an introduction to the account you require of the motives of my late transactions.

You are informed, then, it seems, that I am reconciled with Cæsar and Appius;‡ a step, you assure me, which you do not disapprove. But you are at a loss to guess what reasons could induce

* The conjecture of Manutius seems highly probable, that the person to whom Cicero alludes is Caius Cato, whose ill offices to Lentulus have been often mentioned in the preceding letters. But what the secret practices were which had been discovered so much to his disgrace, is a point in which history does not afford any light.

† In not obtaining the commission to replace Ptolemy on his throne.

‡ He was embroiled with Appius, as being the brother of his inveterate enemy, Clodius.

me to appear at the trial of Vatinius, not only as an advocate, but as a witness in his favour.* To set this matter in the clearest light, it will be necessary to trace back the motives of my conduct to their original source. Let me observe then, my Lentulus, that when I was recalled from exile by your generous offices, I considered myself as resto-

* It was customary, at trials, for the person arraigned to produce witnesses to his character, who were called *Laudatores*, and ten was the number requisite for this purpose. Vatinius was tribune of the people in the consulate of Cæsar, and had been in the number of Cicero's most inveterate enemies, as he was his constant opposer likewise in politics. He was a man of a most abandoned character, and whose person, (as Paterculus assures us,) was not less deformed than his mind. A very learned and polite author, whose just esteem for Cicero's writings has betrayed him, perhaps, into some partiality towards his actions, acknowledges, that "the defence of Vatinius gave a plausible handle "for some censure upon Cicero." The truth of it is, the censure was more than *plausible;* for nothing certainly could discover more meanness of spirit than thus, in compliance with those in power, not only to defend Vatinius as an advocate, but to bear public testimony likewise to his general good conduct. Some colourable excuse, indeed, may be given for the former, by considering it in the light which Valerius Maximus has placed it, as an instance of Cicero's generosity towards his enemies; but the latter seems to stand beyond the reach even of a *plausible* justification. *Pat.* ii. 69. *Val. Max.* iv. 2.

red, not only to my friends and to my family, but to the commonwealth in general. And as you had a right to the best returns of my affection and gratitude for the distinguished part you acted in that affair; so I thought there was something more than ordinary due from me to my country, which had so singularly co-operated with you upon this occasion. I often took an opportunity, during your consulate, of publicly declaring these my sentiments in the senate; as I always, you well know, expressed myself to the same purpose in our private conversations. Nevertheless, I had many reasons at that time to be highly disgusted. I could not, in truth, but observe the disguised malice of some, and the coolness of others, when you were endeavouring to procure a decree for restoring the inscription of that honourable monument of my public services, which had been erected by the senate.*

* The expression which Cicero makes use of in this place is ambiguous: *neque de* monumentis *meis ab iis adjutus, es*, &c. The commentators have supposed that this relates to Cicero's house; but Mr Ross, with much greater probability, imagines it alludes to the *Atrium Libertatis*, which had been erected, by order of the senate, as a memorial of Cicero's services in rescuing the commonwealth from the dangerous conspiracy of Catiline. For Clodius had erased the original inscription, and placed his own name in its stead. See p. 191. note.

But it was not only in this instance that those who had many obligations to concur in your good offices towards me, acted a part I had little reason to expect. They looked indeed with much ungenerous indifference on the cruel outrage which was offered to my brother and myself under our own roof;* and the estimate they made, in pursuance of the senate's order, of the damages I had sustained by these acts of violence, was far unequal to my real loss.† This last article of their injustice,

* Clodius, after having procured a law which declared it treason to vote or take any step towards recalling Cicero from his banishment, proceeded to pillage and burn all his houses both in town and country. Cicero, however, being restored, in the manner which he himself will relate in a subsequent part of this letter, the senate decreed, that his houses should be rebuilt at the public expence. But while the workmen were employed on his Palatine house, and had carried it up almost to the roof, Clodius made a second attack, and, after driving them off, set fire to the adjoining edifice, which belonged to Cicero's brother, and wherein he himself likewise at that time was; so that they were both obliged to make their escape with the utmost precipitation. *Ad Att.* iv. *Orat. post. red.*

† His house upon the Palatine hill in Rome, together with his Tusculan and Formian villas, were jointly estimated at 22,000l.; a valuation universally condemned as extremely unequitable. But "those who had clipt his wings," as he expresses himself in a letter to Atticus upon this occasion, "were not disposed they should grow again."

though least, indeed, in my concern, I could not but very sensibly feel amidst the general wreck of my fortunes. But though these mortifying marks of their disposition towards me were much too notorious to escape my observation, they could not efface the more agreeable impressions of their former friendship. For this reason, notwithstanding those high obligations I had to Pompey, of which you yourself were witness, and have often mentioned, notwithstanding also the affection and esteem which I always entertained for him; yet I still firmly adhered to my political principles, nor suffered these considerations of private amity to influence me in favour of his public measures. Accordingly, when Vatinius (who, at the trial of P. Sextius,*

It seems highly probable, that Lentulus himself was in this number; as it appears, by a letter of our author to his brother, that he had reasons to be dissatisfied with his conduct towards him. But though, in the passage before us, he speaks of the injustice that had been done him, as arising solely from those who were concerned with Lentulus in taking an estimate of his losses; yet, at the same time, he expresses himself in such a manner, as to throw a very artful reproach upon the latter. *Ad Att.* iv. 2. *Ad Q. F.* ii. 2.

* "P. Sextius was a tribune of the people A. U. 696, in "the consulship of Lentulus, and a great instrument in re- "storing Cicero. He resisted the faction of Clodius by "force of arms, and was, upon that account, in the follow- "ing year, accused of public violence by M. Tullius Albi-

was examined as a witness against him) intimated, that Cæsar's successes had reconciled me to his party, I told him, in the presence of Pompey, that I preferred the fate of Bibulus, unhappy as he might esteem it, to all the splendid triumphs of the most victorious general.* I asserted, likewise, upon another occasion, (and asserted too, in the hearing of Pompey,) that the same persons who confined Bibulus to his house, had driven me from mine. Indeed, the whole series of those interrogatories,†

" novanus. Cicero defended him in an excellent oration, " which is still extant, and he was acquitted by the suf- " frages of all the judges." *Mr Ross.*

* M. Calpurnius Bibulus was joint consul with J. Cæsar A. U. 694. The senate secured the election of the former, in order to his being a check to the ambitious designs of his colleague; and it was thought of so much importance to the republic that he should be chosen, that even Cato did not scruple, upon this occasion, to employ methods of bribery for that purpose. But Bibulus, after many vain efforts of patriotism, and being grossly insulted in the forum by Cæsar's mob, at length withdrew from the functions of his office, and voluntarily confined himself (as Suetonius relates) to his own house; though, by the expression which Tully here uses, it rather seems as if Cæsar had employed some force in keeping him there. After which, as the same historian informs us, Cæsar governed the republic without controul. *Suet. in Jul. Cæsar.* c. 20.

† " Cicero, instead of examining Vatinius upon the facts " in his evidence against Sextius, put to him a series of

which I put to Vatinius at this trial, was entirely designed as an invective against his tribunate; and I particularly exposed, with much freedom and indignation, his contempt of the auspices, his corrupt disposal of foreign kingdoms,* together with the rest of his violent and illegal proceedings. But it was not only upon this occasion that I spoke thus unreservedly, I frequently avowed my sentiments with the same resolute spirit in the senate. Thus, when Marcellinus and Philippus were† consuls, I carried a motion, that the affair of the Campanian

" questions in such an artful manner, that he exposed all " the intrigues and iniquity of his tribunate. This examina- " tion is still extant, under the title of *Interrogatio in Va- " tinium.*" *Mr Ross.*

* It is wholly uncertain to what particular facts Cicero alludes, when he imputes to Vatinius what he calls the *donatio regnorum*; however, by comparing this expression with the oration to which it refers, and with a passage in a letter to Atticus, it seems probable, that Vatinius, when he was tribune, had been bribed to procure a confirmation from the people of some disputed regal title, or, perhaps, to obtain assistance from the republic, in transferring a contested crown from its rightful possessor into the hands of an usurper. It is certain, at least, that such unworthy methods were frequently practised at this time, in order to gratify the insatiable avarice and profusion of these degenerate Romans. *Orat. in Vatin. Ad Att.* ii. 9.

† They were consuls A. U. 697.

lands* should be referred to the re-consideration of a full house,† on the 15th of May following. Now tell me, my friend, could I possibly have made a bolder or more formidable attack upon this party? Could I possibly have given a more convincing

* The lands in Campania, a district in Italy, now called the Terra di Lavoro, in the kingdom of Naples, were partly appropriated to the use of the republic, and partly in private hands. Cæsar had procured a law for dividing the former among 25,000 poor citizens, and for purchasing the latter in order to distribute them in the same manner. Both these designs seem to have been very artfully calculated by Cæsar, to promote and facilitate his grand purpose of usurping the supreme power: For, by parcelling out those lands among the common people which belonged to the republic, he secured the populace to his interest, and, at the same time, deprived the government of those very considerable supplies, both of money and corn, which it derived from its demesnes in Campania; as, on the other side, by purchasing the remainder of these estates, he must necessarily have weakened those public treasures which were already much impoverished, and consequently rendered the commonwealth less capable of opposing his ambitious measures. *Suet. in J. Cæs. c.* 20. *Cic. Agrar.* ii. 29.

† A decree of the senate had not its complete force, unless it passed in a full house; that is, when a competent number of the members were present. It seems, by a passage which Manutius quotes from Dio, l. 54. that, before the times of Augustus, who made some alteration therein, the number requisite to make an act valid was 400.

evidence, that I had not departed from my old principles, notwithstanding all I had formerly suffered for their sake? The truth of it is, this motion greatly exasperated, not only those whom it was reasonable to expect it would offend, but others upon whom I did not imagine it would have had any such effect. Pompey, soon after this decree had passed, set forward upon his expedition into Sardinia and Africa,* without giving me the least intimation of his being disgusted. In his way thither, he had a conference with Cæsar at Lucca,† who

* This expedition of Pompey into Sardinia and Africa, was in pursuance of the commission with which he had been invested for supplying the public magazines with corn. See p. 60. note.

† Lucca was a frontier town in Cæsar's province of Cisalpine Gaul, adjoining to Italy: it still subsists under the same name, and is a celebrated republic. It was Cæsar's policy, at the end of every campaign, to fix his winter-quarters as near Italy as possible, in order to be within observation of what passed at Rome. A numerous court was immediately formed around him in these places of his residence, consisting of the most distinguished persons in Rome, and the neighbouring provinces, and no less than 200 senators have been observed among his attendants upon these occasions. Candidates for offices; young men who had run out their estates; and, in a word, all whose affairs of any kind were embarrassed, flocked to him in these cities; and, by liberal concessions to their respective wants and interests, he strengthened his faction, and forwarded his grand

made great complaints of this motion. He had before, it seems, been informed of it by Crassus at Ravenna,* who took that opportunity of incensing him against me. And it appeared afterwards, that Pompey was likewise much dissatisfied upon the same account. This I learnt from several hands, but particularly from my brother, who met him in Sardinia, a few days after he had left Lucca. Pompey told him he was extremely glad of that accidental interview, as he wanted much to talk with him. He began with saying, that as my brother stood engaged† for my conduct, he should expect him to exert all his endeavours to influence me accordingly. Pompey then proceeded very warmly to remonstrate against my late motion in the senate; reminding my brother of his services to us both, and particularly of what had passed between

enterprise. It was thus, (as the judicious Plutarch observes,) he had the address to employ the forces of the republic against Gaul, and the spoils of Gaul against the republic. *Plut. in Cæs. et Pomp. Suet. in Jul.*

* A city in Cisalpine Gaul, still subsisting under the same name in the Pope's dominions.

† This alludes to those engagements which Quintus Cicero entered into in behalf of his brother, in order to induce Pompey to favour his recal from banishment. And, it appears, by what follows, that he promised, on the part of Cicero, an unlimited resignation to the measures of that ambitious chief.

them concerning Cæsar's edicts, and of those assurances, he said, my brother had given him of the measures I would pursue with respect to that article. He added, that my brother himself was a witness, that the steps he had formerly taken for procuring my recal, were with the full consent and approbation of Cæsar. Upon the whole, therefore, he entreated him, if it were either not in my power or my inclination to support the interest and dignity of the latter, that he would at least prevail with me not to oppose them. The account which my brother gave me of this conversation, together with a message I had before received from Pompey by Vibullius, to request that I would not proceed any farther in the affair of the Campanian lands till his return, threw me into a very serious train of reflections. I could not but think, after having performed and suffered so much for my country, that I might now at least be permitted to consider what was due to gratitude and to the honour of my brother; and as I had ever conducted myself with integrity towards the public, I might be allowed, I hoped, to act the same honest part in my more private connections.*

* The destructive views of Cæsar, in procuring the law in question, have been already considered in these notes; weak, therefore, undoubtedly, is the reason which Cicero

During the time I was engaged in these votes, and other proceedings with which Pompey appeared thus dissatisfied, I was informed of what passed in the conversations of a set of men, whom you will now guess without my naming. This party, though they approved of my public measures, as

here assigns, for renouncing an opposition so evidently important to the true interest of his country. Had Cæsar and Pompey, indeed, been ever so much his real friends, no considerations of amity ought to have prevailed with him, to have acquiesced in a scheme which was contrary to the sentiments of all the real patriots of the republic, and contrary likewise to his own; a scheme which he himself tells Atticus, was formed for the destruction of the commonwealth. *Ad Att.* ii. 17. Had he attended to the indisputable maxim which he himself lays down in one of his philosophical treatises, it would have decided at once the conduct which became him to observe upon an occasion where private friendship interfered with more extensive obligations: *Hæc prima lex in amicitia sanciatur* (says he) *ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati.* But the truth of it is, private friendship was not concerned in the case; for he well knew, that neither Pompey nor Cæsar had any attachments to him of that kind. It was fear alone that determined his resolution; and, having once already suffered in the cause of liberty, he did not find himself disposed to be twice a martyr. The awkward manner, however, in which he attempts to justify himself throughout this letter, very evidently shews how impossible it is to bid farewell to integrity with a good grace.

being agreeable to what had ever been their professed sentiments, were yet so ungenerous as to express great satisfaction in believing that my conduct would by no means oblige Pompey, at the same time that it would highly exasperate Cæsar. Well might I resent, indeed, so injurious a treatment; but much more when I saw them, even before my face, maliciously encouraging and caressing my avowed enemy; *---mine do I call him? Rather let me say, an enemy to the laws and tranquillity of his country, and to every character of worth and virtue amongst us.

Their malevolence, however, had not the effect they intended, and it could not warm me into those transports of indignation, of which my heart is now, indeed, no longer susceptible. On the contrary, it only induced me to examine my situation in all its various circumstances and relations, with the greatest coolness and impartiality; the process and result of which I will lay before you in as few words as I am able.

There have been times, as experience no less than history has taught me, when the power of the commonwealth was in worthless and wicked hands. In such a conjuncture, no hope of interest, (which I have at all times most heartily contemned,) nor

* Clodius.

fear of danger, (which, upon some occasions, however, has influenced the greatest minds,) should prevail with me to co-operate in their measures; no, not though I were attached to them by the strongest ties of friendship and gratitude. But when a man of Pompey's distinguished character presides over the republic; a man who has acquired that eminence of power and honour by the most heroic actions, and the most signal services; I could not imagine it would be imputed to me as a levity of disposition, if, in some few instances, I declined a little from my general maxims, and complied with his inclinations.* But my justification,

* It appears, by what has already been remarked, that Cicero's compliance can by no means be considered in the favourable light in which he here represents it; but was, in reality, a concession most injurious to his honour, and fatal to the liberties of Rome. It is certain, likewise, that it was not from any advantageous opinion of Pompey's political character and designs, that he was induced to fall in with his measures. On the contrary, Cicero most undoubtedly had no esteem for him; and, as to his political views, he saw and acknowledged, long before the date of this letter, that they were turned on the destruction of the republic. Ομολογεμενως (says he in one of the epistles to Atticus) τυραννιδα συσκευαζετα; as in another, written upon the breaking out of the civil war, he calls him *hominem* απολιτικοτατον, a man utterly unacquainted with the arts of government.—*Ad Att.* ii. 17. viii. 16. See Let. 5. of Book vi.

I thought, would still rise in strength, when it should be remembered, that I favoured his credit and dignity even from the earliest part of my life, as I particularly promoted them in my prætorship and consulate; when it should be remembered, that he not only assisted me with his vote and his influence in the senate during my adversity, but joined his counsels and his efforts with yours, for the same generous purpose; in a word, when it should be remembered, that he has no other enemy in the whole commonwealth, except the man who is my professed adversary.* In consequence of these sentiments, it was absolutely necessary for me, you see, to unite with Cæsar, as one who was joined in the same views, and the same interest. His friendship, likewise, which, you are sensible, my brother and I have long shared, together with his humane and generous disposition, which I have abundantly experienced, both by his late letters and his good offices towards me, contributed greatly to confirm me in these resolutions. To which I must add, that the commonwealth in general seemed to be most strongly averse from giving any opposition to these extraordinary men; more espe-

* Clodius, after having driven Cicero out of Rome, entered most strenuously into the opposition against Pompey and Cæsar.—*Manutius.* See p. 188. note.

cially after Cæsar had performed such great and glorious exploits for the honour of his country. But what had still a farther and very powerful weight in my deliberations, was Pompey's having engaged his word for me to Cæsar, as my brother had given the same assurances to Pompey.

Plato, I remembered, lays it down as a maxim, in his divine writings, that "the people generally "model their manners and their sentiments by "those of the great:" a maxim which, at this juncture, I thought merited my particular attention. I was convinced, indeed, of its truth, when I reflected on the vigorous resolutions which were taken in the senate, on the memorable Nones* of December; and it seemed no wonder so noble a spirit should appear in that assembly, after the animating example I had given them upon my first entering on the consular office. I reflected also,

* The fifth. It was on this day, in the consulship of Cicero and Antonius, A. U. 690, that the senate came to a resolution of inflicting capital punishment on all those who were concerned in Catiline's conspiracy: "And it is cer- "tain, (as the learned and polite historian of Cicero's life "observes,) that Rome was indebted to him on this day for "one of the greatest deliverances which it had ever recei- "ved since its foundation; and which, nothing, perhaps, "but his vigilance and sagacity could have so happily ef- "fected."—*Middleton's Life of Cic.* Vol. i. 231.

that, during the whole time which intervened between the expiration of my consulship and that of Cæsar and Bibulus,* when I still retained a very considerable authority in the senate, all the better part of the republic were united in their sentiments. On the other hand, about the time you took possession of your government in Spain, the commonwealth could not so properly be said to be under the administration of consuls, as of infamous barterers of provinces,† and the mean vassals and ministers of sedition. It was then that discord and faction spread through all ranks amongst us; and I was marked out as the victim of party rage. In this critical season, however, not only every man of worth, but the greater part of the senators, and indeed all Italy in general, rose up with remark-

* Cicero was chosen consul in the year of Rome 690; Cæsar and Bibulus in the year 694.

† The consuls to whom Cicero alludes, are Lucius Calpurnius Piso, whose daughter Cæsar had married; and Aulus Gabinius, a dependant and favourite of Pompey. They succeeded Cæsar and Bibulus in this office in 695, the year when Cicero went into exile. "Clodius secured them to "his measures by a private contract, to procure for them, "by a grant from the people, two of the best governments "of the empire: Piso was to have Macedonia, with Greece "and Thessaly; Gabinius, Cilicia. For this price they "agreed to serve him in all his designs, particularly in the "oppression of Cicero."—*Middleton's Life of Cic.* i. 336.

able unanimity in my cause.* What the event proved, I forbear to mention; as, in truth, it is to be imputed to a complication of errors and artifices. But this, I will say, it was not forces, so much as leaders to conduct them, that were wanting to me at this crisis. I must add, that whatever censure may justly fall on those who refused me their assistance, most certainly they who first promised

* "Clodius procured a law, importing, *that whoever had "taken the life of a citizen uncondemned, and without a trial, "should be prohibited from fire and water.* Though Cicero "was not named, yet he was marked out by this law. His "crime was, the putting Catiline's accomplices to death; "which, though not done by his single authority, but by a "general vote of the senate, and after a solemn hearing and "debate, was alleged to be illegal, and contrary to the li- "berties of the people. Cicero, finding himself thus redu- "ced to the condition of a criminal, changed his habit up- "on it, as was usual in the case of a public impeachment, "and appeared about the streets in a mourning gown, to "excite the compassion of his fellow-citizens; whilst Clo- "dius, at the head of his mob, contrived to meet and insult "him at every turn. But Cicero soon gathered friends "enough to secure him from such insults; and the whole "body of the knights, together with the young nobility, to "the number of 20,000, headed by Crassus the son, all "changed their habit, and perpetually attended him about "the city, to implore the protection and assistance of the "people."—*Plut. in Cic. Orat. post. red. Middleton's Life of Cic.* i. 340.

it, and then deserted me, are not less to be blamed.* In a word, if some of my friends may well be reproached for the timid, though sincere counsels they gave me; how much more severe must their condemnation prove, who artfully alarmed me with their pretended fears? Let it be noted, at the same time, to my honour, that, zealous as my fellow-citizens shewed themselves to rise up in the defence of a man who had formerly stood forth in theirs, yet I would not suffer them to be exposed (unsupported as they were by those who ought to have been their protectors) to the barbarous insults of a lawless banditti. On the contrary, I rather chose

* In this number was Pompey himself, who, though he had given Cicero the most solemn assurances, that he would, at the hazard of his life, protect him against Clodius; yet, when afterwards our author solicited the execution of this promise, he treated him with much rudeness, as well as great treachery, and absolutely refused to concern himself in the affair. *Ad Att.* ii. 20. x. 4. It seems altogether unaccountable, that Cicero should be so injudicious as to touch upon a circumstance that destroys the whole force of his apology; so far, I mean, as he intended to justify his conduct by his friendship to Pompey. For it exceeds all power of credulity to imagine, that he could really be influenced by a motive of that kind, with respect to a man, whose insincerity he had so lately and so severely experienced.

the world should judge by the power of my friends in recalling me from my exile, what their honest unanimity could have effected, had I permitted them to have drawn their swords to prevent it.

You were sensible of this general zeal in my favour when you undertook my cause, and you not only encouraged, but confirmed it, by your influence and authority. I shall always most willingly acknowledge, that you were assisted upon this occasion by some of the most considerable persons in Rome;* who, it must be owned, exerted themselves with much greater vigour in procuring my return, than in preventing my banishment; and, had they persisted in the same resolute disposition, they might have recovered their own authority at the same time that they obtained my restoration. The spirits, in truth, of the aristocratical part of the republic were, at this juncture, greatly raised and animated by the inflexible patriotism of your conduct during your consulship, together with Pom-

* Clodius was so elated with his success against Cicero, that he had no sooner driven him out of Rome, than he conceived hopes of rendering himself no less formidable to Cæsar and Pompey. Accordingly, he entered into an open opposition against them both; which he carried on with so much warmth and petulance, that at length they found it expedient for their purposes, to mortify him by recalling Cicero.

pey's concurrence in the same measures. Cæsar, likewise, when he saw the senate distinguishing his glorious actions by the most singular and unprecedented honours, joined in adding weight to the authority of that assembly. Had these happy circumstances, therefore, been rightly improved, it would have been impossible, for any ill-designing citizen, to have violated the laws and liberties of the commonwealth. But, let me entreat you to reflect a moment on the subsequent conduct of my political associates. In the first place, they screened from punishment that infamous intruder on the matron-mysteries, who shewed no more reverence for the awful ceremonies of the goddess, in whose honour these sacred solemnities are celebrated, than for the chastity of his three sisters.* And thus, by

* Clodius (as Plutarch relates the story) had an intrigue with Pompeia, Cæsar's wife; but as he could not easily gain access to her, he took the opportunity, while she was celebrating the mysteries of the *bona Dea* at her own house, to enter disguised in a woman's habit. While he was waiting in one of the apartments for Pompeia, he was discovered by a maid servant of Cæsar's mother; who immediately giving the alarm, he was driven out of this female assembly with great indignation. The *bona Dea*, as the same author informs us, was supposed to have been a Dryad, with whom the god Faunus had an amour. These rites were held in the highest veneration, and conducted with the most profound secresy. They were celebrated annual-

preventing a worthy tribune of the people from obtaining that justice upon Clodius which he endeavoured to procure, they deprived future times of a most salutary example of chastised sedition.* Did

ly by women at the house of the consul or prætor, and it was not lawful for any male to be present. Seneca tells us, they carried this precaution so far, that if there happened to be a picture of any male animal in the room where these mystic ceremonies were performing, it was thought necessary it should be veiled.—*Plut. in Cæs. Sen. Ep.* 97.

Clodius was suspected of having a criminal commerce with his three sisters.

* Lentulus, immediately upon entering on his consular office, A. U. 696, moved the senate, that Cicero might be restored; in which he was seconded by Pompey with much zeal, and the whole house unanimously concurred in the motion. Serranus, however, a tribune of the people, interposing his negative, no decree could pass at that time; nevertheless, it was with one consent resolved, that, on the 22d of the same month, a law should be proposed to the people for Cicero's recal. When the appointed day arrived, the friends of Cicero found the Forum in the possession of Clodius, who had planted his mob there over-night, in order to prevent the promulgation of this law. A very bloody skirmish ensued, in which several lives were lost, and many other outrages committed; in consequence of which, Clodius was impeached by Milo as a disturber of the public peace. But Metellus, the colleague of Lentulus, together with Appius the prætor, and Serranus the tribune, determined to screen Clodius; and accordingly, by a most dangerous exercise of their authority, they published their

not they suffer, likewise, that monument, that glorious monument, which was erected, not indeed with the spoils I had gained in foreign wars, but by the generosity of the senate for my civil services; did they not most shamefully suffer it to be inscribed with the name of the cruel and avowed enemy of his country? * Obliged, most certainly, I am to them for having restored me to the commonwealth; but I could wish they had conducted themselves, not only like physicians, whose views terminate merely in the health of their patients, but like the Aliptæ † also, who endeavour to esta-

several edicts, commanding all farther proceedings in this prosecution to be discontinued. It was a very impolitic power (as a late ingenious writer upon government observes) which was lodged in the tribunes, of thus preventing the execution of the laws, as well as the passing of them, and which caused infinite mischiefs to the republic.—*Orat. pro Sext.* 34, 35, 41. *L'Esprit des loix*, i. 223.

* "After the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy, the "senate decreed, that a temple should be erected to liber-"ty, as a public monument of their late happy deliverance. "This temple was raised at the foot of Mount Palatine, "near Cicero's house. And as the inscription fixed there-"on undoubtedly mentioned Cicero with honour, Clodius "erased those words, and placed his own name in their "stead."—*Manutius.*

† The *Aliptæ* were persons who prepared the bodies of the athletic combatants, by unctions and other proper me-

blish the spirits and vigour of those under their care. Whereas they have acted with regard to me, as Apelles did in relation to his celebrated picture of Venus;* they have finished one part of their work with great skill and accuracy, but left all the rest a mere rude and imperfect sketch.

thods, for rendering them vigorous and active in their gymnastic exercises.

* Apelles, one of the greatest masters of painting in ancient Greece, was a native of Coos, and flourished in the 112th Olymp. or about 332 years before Christ. His principal excellency consisted in the inimitable grace which distinguished all his performances. Pliny the elder has, by a very strong expression, informed us of the amazing force of his pencil; *pinxit* (says that author) *quæ pingi non possunt, tonitrua, fulgura et fulgetra.* He could even convey ideas which seemed impossible to be raised by colours, and animate his sublime pieces with all the terrors of thunder and lightning. His capital performance was a figure of Venus, which appears to have been at Rome in the times of Augustus. The lower parts of this picture being damaged, no painter would venture to retouch it. Something of the same kind is mentioned to the honour of Raphael, whose paintings, in the little Farnese, at Rome, being somewhat spoiled, it was with the greatest difficulty that even Carlo Maratti was prevailed upon to restore them. Apelles began a second figure of Venus, which he intended should excel his first; but he died before he had proceeded any further in that design than the head and shoulders. *Quinct.* xii. 10. *Plin. H. N.* xxxv. 10. *Reflex. sur la Poes. et sur la Peint.*

In one article, however, I had the satisfaction to disappoint my enemies. They imagined my banishment would have wrought the same effect on me, which they falsely supposed a calamity of a like kind produced formerly in Quintus Metellus. This excellent person, (whom I look upon to have been a man of the greatest fortitude and magnanimity of any in his times,) they represented as broken and dispirited after his return from exile.* But

* Q. Cæcilius Metellus was in the number of those who opposed the faction of Caius Marius; in consequence of which, he was at length driven into exile. The immediate occasion, however, of his sentence, was this: Saturninus, a tribune of the people, and creature of Marius, proposed a law in the year 653, which, among other things, enacted, that "the senators should swear to ratify whatever the "people ordained." This oath, Metellus, with the true spirit of ancient Rome, resolutely refused to take; and when his friends represented to him the dangerous consequences which would probably attend his persevering in that honest resolution, he nobly replied, "*it is the characteristic of* "*a man of virtue and honour to act rightly, whatever conse-* "*quences may ensue.* Accordingly, a decree passed in an assembly of the people for his banishment; and when his friends offered him their assistance to withstand this piece of public injustice, he generously refused their aid; "*for,*" said he, "*either public measures will be changed, and the peo-* "*ple will repent of the injury they have done me; and then I* "*shall be recalled with honour: or they will continue in the* "*same sentiments; and in that case banishment will be a hap-*

if broken he really were, it could not be the effect of his adversity; as it is certain he submitted to his sentence without the least reluctance, and lived under it, not only with indifference, but with cheer-

"*piness.*" He greatly chose, therefore, to withdraw himself from the destructive politics of his country; and, retiring to Rhodes, he calmly spent his time in philosophical studies. His virtues, however, prevailed at last over the iniquity of his persecutors, and he was restored to the republic, notwithstanding all the opposition of Marius. Cicero has recorded a circumstance relating to Metellus, that gives one the highest idea of the character he enjoyed amongst his countrymen. He was accused, it seems, by the Marian faction, of having been guilty of public extortion; but when he entered upon his defence, and produced his accounts, the judges refused to inspect them, as being well convinced, that Metellus had a soul much too enlarged to be capable of any thing so mean as injustice. I cannot forbear mentioning likewise a noble expression of this great man, in a letter written during his banishment, as it shews the spirit with which he bore his misfortune. *Illi* (inimici sc.) *jure et honestate interdicti; ego neque aqua neque igni careo, et summa gloria fruniscor.* "Whilst my enemies," *says he*, "vainly hoped to banish me from the common be-"nefits of society; which, however, I still enjoy, toge-"ther with the highest glory; they have much more se-"verely banished from their own breasts all sentiments of "justice and honour." One cannot but acknowledge with regret, that neither the enemies nor the friends of Cicero did him justice when they compared him to Metellus; for, besides the great superiority of the latter in the present in-

fulness. The truth is, no man ever equalled him in the strength and heroism of his mind; no, not even the celebrated Marcus Scaurus.* Neverthe-

stance, he, upon all occasions, acted consistently with his avowed political principles, and preserved an uniform and unsullied reputation to the end of his days.—*Plut. in vit. C. Mar. Ep. ad Att.* i. 16. *Orat. pro Balbo in princip. Aul. Gel.* xvii. 2. *Sal. bel. Jugurth.* 47.

* M. Æmilius Scaurus was advanced a second time to the honour of the consular office, in the year of Rome 646, having enjoyed that dignity eight years before. He is mentioned by Cicero among the orators of that age; but there was more of force and authority in what he delivered, than of grace in his manner, or elegance in his expression. He was accused, in his latter days, of having carried on a traitorous correspondence with Mithridates. The short speech which he made in his defence, is extremely remarkable, and gives one a lively image of that manly contempt with which a mind, conscious of its integrity, ought ever to treat the calumnies of an accuser, whose *known character* affords the best and most expeditious antidote against his malice. The venerable old man stood forth in the midst of the assembly, and addressing himself to the whole audience, spake to this effect: "It is somewhat hard, my countrymen, that "I should be obliged to give an account to the present ge- "neration of what I transacted before they were born. "But, notwithstanding the greater part of this assembly "are too young to have been witnesses of the services and "honours of my former life, I will venture to rest the whole "of my defence upon a single question. Varius, then, as- "serts, that Scaurus was bribed to betray his country;

less, such as they had heard, or, at least, chose to imagine Metellus to have been, they figured me to themselves; or, if possible, indeed even yet more abject. The reverse, however, proved to be the case, and that general concern which the whole republic expressed at my absence, inspired me with more vigorous spirits than I had ever before enjoyed. The fact is, that the sentence of banishment against Metellus was repealed by a law proposed only by a single tribune of the people; whereas, I was recalled from mine upon the motion of the consul himself,* and by a law in which every magistrate of Rome concurred. Let me add, likewise, that each order and degree in the commonwealth, headed by the senate, and supported by all Italy, zealously united in one common effort for recovering me to my country. Yet, high as these unexampled honours were, they have never

" Scaurus, on the other hand, utterly denies that he ever " was tainted with a crime of this nature. Now lay your " hands upon your hearts, and tell me, my fellow-citizens, " to which of these two men you will give credit?" The people were so struck with the honest simplicity of this speech, that Scaurus was dismissed with honour, and his infamous accuser hissed out of the assembly. *De clar. Orat.* 110, 111. *Val. Max.* iii. 7. *Salust. bel. Jugurth. Orat. pro Fronteio. Act.* 1. *in Verr.*

* Lentulus, the person to whom this letter is addressed.

elated my heart with pride, or tempted me to assume an air which could give just offence, even to the most malevolent of my enemies. The whole of my ambition is, not to be wanting either in advice or assistance to my friends; or even to those whom I have no great reason to rank in that number. It is this, perhaps, which has given the real ground of complaint to those who view only the lustre of my actions, but cannot be sensible of the pains and solicitude they cost me. But whatever the true cause may be, the pretended one is, my having promoted the honours of Cæsar; a circumstance which they interpret, it seems, as a renunciation of my old maxims. The genuine motives, however, of my conduct, in this instance, are not only what I just before mentioned, but particularly what I hinted in the beginning of my letter, and will now more fully explain.

You will not find then, my friend, the aristocratical part of the republic disposed to pursue the same system as when you left them. That system, I mean, which I endeavoured to establish when I was consul, and which, though afterwards occasionally interrupted, and at length entirely overthrown, was again fully restored during your administration. It is now, however, totally abandoned by those who ought most strenuously to have supported it. I do not assert this upon the credit only of

appearances, in which it is exceedingly easy to dissemble; I speak it upon the unquestionable evidence of facts, and the public proceedings of those who were styled patriots in my consulate. The general scheme of politics, therefore, being thus changed, it is time, most certainly, for every man of prudence (in which number I have the ambition to be justly accounted) to vary likewise his particular plan. Accordingly, that chief and favourite guide of my principles, whom I have already quoted, the divine Plato himself, advises not to press any political point farther than is consonant with the general sense of the community; for methods of violence, he maintains, are no more to be used towards one's country, than one's parent. Upon this maxim, he tells us, he declined engaging in public affairs; and, as he found the people of Athens confirmed, by long habit, in their mistaken notions of government, he did not think it lawful to attempt, by force, what he despaired of effecting by persuasion. My situation, however, is, in this respect, different from Plato's; for, on the one hand, as I have already embarked in public affairs, it is too late to deliberate whether I should now enter upon them or not; so, on the other, the Roman people are by no means so incapable of judging of their true interest, as he represents the Athenians. It is my happiness, indeed, to be able,

by the same measures, to consult at once both my own and my country's welfare.* To these consi-

* If Cicero was sincere in what he here asserted, and really imagined, that, by falling in with the schemes of Cæsar and Pompey, he could more effectually serve his country, as well as himself, his policy, as far as we can judge of it at this distance, seems to have been very extraordinary. To have supported the one, in opposition to the other, might, perhaps, have been a probable method of defeating the designs of both, as they could neither of them have advanced to so formidable a height, if they had not mutually assisted in raising each other. But to join in their coalition, was, in effect, to be accessary in cementing an union most evidently calculated for the ruin of the commonwealth. This reasoning is not built merely upon distant speculation, but is supported by the express testimony of one who was not only an actor in this important scene, but well understood the plot that was carrying on. "You are mistaken "(said Cato to those who were lamenting the breach that "afterwards happened between Pompey and Cæsar), you "are mistaken in charging our calamities on that event; "they owe their rise to another cause, and began, not "when Pompey and Cæsar became enemies, but when "they were made friends." The difficulty of justifying Cicero in this measure grows still stronger, when it is remembered, that he must have been sensible, at this very time, how much was to be dreaded from the power of these his pretended friends. For he assures Atticus, in a letter which was written at the breaking out of the civil war, that he foresaw the storm that had been gathering to destroy the republic, fourteen years before it fell; and calls the union of

derations, I must add those uncommon acts of generosity, which Cæsar had exerted both towards my brother and myself; so much, indeed, beyond all example, that, even whatever had been his success, I should have thought it incumbent upon me at least to have defended him. But now, distinguished as he is by such a wonderful series of prosperity, and crowned with so many glorious victories, I cannot but esteem it a duty which I owe the republic, abstracted from all personal obligations to himself, to promote his honours as far as lies in my power. And believe me, it is at once my confession and my glory, that, next to you, together with the other generous authors of my restoration, there is not a man in the world from whom I have received such amicable offices.

And now, having laid before you the principal motives of my conduct in general, I shall be the better able to satisfy you concerning my behaviour with respect to Crassus and Vatinius in particular; for as to Appius and Cæsar, I have the pleasure to find that you acquit me of all reproach.

these ambitious chiefs, *scelerata consensionis fides*, a wicked confederacy. To which he adds, that they had, upon all occasions, preferred the interest of their families, and the advancement of their power, to the honour and welfare of their country.—*Plut. in vit. Pomp. Ad Att.* 10. 4.

My reconciliation then with Vatinius* was effected by the mediation of Pompey, soon after the former was elected prætor. I must confess, when he petitioned to be admitted a candidate for that office, I very warmly opposed him in the† senate;

* Some observations have already been made upon Cicero's conduct with regard to Vatinius: see p. 170. note.

† The passage in the original, it is acknowledged, does not absolutely imply the sense which is given to it in the translation. It runs thus: *cum quidem ego ejus petitionem gravissimis in senatu sententiis oppugnassem.* But it is not easy to conceive in what manner the competition between Cato and Vatinius, in relation to the office of Prætor, could come before the senate, unless the authority of that assembly were some way necessary in nominating or recommending the candidates to the people. This interpretation seems to be favoured by a passage in one of Pliny's letters. *Meo suffragio* (says he, speaking of a friend for whom, not being legally qualified to sue for the Tribunate, he had obtained a dispensation from the Emperor for that purpose) *Meo suffragio pervenit ad jus Tribunatum petendi, quem nisi* obtinet in senatu, *vereor ne decepisse Cæsarem videar.* ii. 9. That the Senate originally claimed this prerogative, with respect to the election of kings, is indisputable. *Patres decreverunt* (as Livy informs us) *ut cum populus regem jussisset, id sic ratum esset, si patres auctores fierent.* 1. 17. It is equally clear, likewise, that the Senate exercised a privilege of the same kind, after the republican government was established; for Cicero, taking notice, in one of his orations, of an unsuccessful attempt that had been formerly made by that august assembly, in order to extend their

but it was much less from my resentment to the man himself, than in order to support the honour and interest of Cato.* Soon after this, he was im-

power, adds, *tum enim magistratum non gerebat is qui ceperat, si patres auctores non erant facti.* Orat. pro Planc. 3. But the difficulty is, this speech was delivered in the very same year in which the present letter was written; so that the passage quoted from it seems to imply, that no such right subsisted at the time under consideration: and indeed Dr Chapman produces it in confirmation of this notion. (Essay on R. S. p. 317.) The difficulty, however, may, perhaps, be solved, by supposing that Cicero's meaning is to be taken restrictively, and that the prerogative of the Senate, in the nomination of candidates for the several magistracies, or at least in confirming their election, was abolished only with respect to the election of Ædiles, which it is certain he had principally in view, but remained, nevertheless, in its usual force as to all others. Conjectures are allowable in points of so much obscurity, and in which neither critics nor commentators afford any light; but what solidity there may be in that which runs through the present remark, is submitted to the judgment of more successful inquirers.

* Cato, the year before the date of this letter, had solicited the prætorship, in order to arm himself with the authority of that important office against the dangerous designs of Crassus and Pompey, who were at that time consuls. But they were too well aware of the honest purposes of this inflexible patriot, not to obstruct his election; and accordingly they carried it against him in favour of the

peached; and it was in compliance with the earnest solicitation of Cæsar, that I undertook his defence. But you must not enquire why I appeared at this trial, or indeed at any other of the same kind, as a witness in favour of the accused, lest I should hereafter have an opportunity of retorting the question upon you. Though, to say the truth, I may fairly ask it even now; for do you not remember, my friend, in whose behalf it was that you formerly transmitted certain honourable testimonials, even from the utmost limits of the Roman empire? You need not scruple, however, to acknowledge the fact; for I have acted, and shall continue to act, the same part towards those very persons. But to return to Vatinius: besides the reasons I have already assigned, I was provoked to engage in his defence, by an opposition of the same sort which the parasite recommends to the amorous soldier in the play.* The obsequious Gnatho, you know, advises his friend, the captain, whenever his mistress endeavours to pique his jealousy, by mentioning his rival Phædria, to play off Pamphila upon her in return. Thus, as I told the

pliant and worthless Vatinius, whose pretensions they supported by every infamous method of artifice, corruption, and violence.—*Plut. in vit. Caton.*

* The Eunuch of Terence.

judges at this trial, since certain honourable persons, who were formerly much in my interest, had thought proper, by many little mortifying instances in the senate, to caress my avowed enemy before my face, I thought it but equitable to have a Clodius on my part, in opposition to the Clodius on their's. Accordingly, I have, upon many occasions, acted suitably to this declaration, and all the world acknowledges I have reason. *

Having thus explained my conduct with regard to Vatinius, I will now lay before you those motives which determined me in respect to Crassus.† I was willing, for the sake of the common cause, to bury in oblivion the many and great injuries I had formerly received from him. Agreeably to this

* The conduct of Cicero, with regard to Vatinius, appears by no means parallel with that of the aristocratical party towards Clodius. The latter was now at variance with Cæsar and Pompey; and it was undoubtedly a just and rational policy to take advantage of that dissension, and endeavour, by an artful management, to gain him over to the cause of liberty. But Cicero's engaging in the support of Vatinius, cannot be justified by any political reasons of this nature; and, to speak truth, it seems to be altogether without excuse. For Vatinius was actually in league with the enemies of his country; to espouse his cause, therefore, was to strengthen their faction, and sacrifice public interest to private pique.

† See the notes on Let. 7. of this Book.

disposition, as we were then upon good terms, I should have borne his unexpected defence of Gabinius,* (whom he had very lately with so much

* Aulus Gabinius was consul the same year in which Cicero was so outrageously persecuted by Clodius; with whom (as has been observed in the notes above) Gabinius most zealously concurred. To give his character as Cicero himself has drawn it, in several of his orations, he was effeminate in his mien, dissolute in his principles, and a professed libertine in every kind. After the expiration of his consulate, in 696, he went governor into Syria; from whence he was recalled the following year by a decree of the senate. Cicero spoke very warmly in favour of the decree; and it is probable that the dispute here mentioned between him and Crassus, happened in the debates which arose upon this occasion. Not many months after the date of this letter, Gabinius was impeached for mal-practices during the administration of his proconsular government; and Cicero was now so entirely at the disposal of Cæsar and Pompey, that, in compliance with their request, he meanly undertook his defence. But it was not without great struggles with himself, that he submitted to an office so unworthy of his principles and his character. However, he endeavoured to represent it to the world as an act of pure generosity; and, indeed, the sentiment with which he defended himself from the censure that passed upon him on this occasion, is truly noble: *Neque me vero pœnitet mortales inimicitias, sempiternas amicitias habere.* But Gabinius was by no means entitled to the benefit of this generous maxim, nor was it true (as will incontestibly appear by a passage I shall presently have occasion to produce) that Cicero was govern-

warmth opposed,) if he had avoided all personal reflections on myself. But when, with the most unprovoked violence, he broke in upon me whilst I was in the midst of my speech, I must confess it raised my indignation; and, perhaps, I took fire so much the sooner, as possibly there still remained in my heart some latent sparks of my former resentment. However, my behaviour in the senate, upon this occasion, was much and generally applauded. Among the rest, I was complimented likewise by the same men whom I have often hinted at in this letter, and who acknowledged I had rendered a very essential service to their cause, by that spirit which I had thus exerted. In short, they affected to speak of me in public, as being now indeed restored to the commonwealth, in the best and most glorious sense. Nevertheless, they had the malice in their private conversations (as I was informed by persons of undoubted honour) to express singular satisfaction in the new variance that had thus happened between Crassus and my-

ed by it in the case under consideration. Cicero's conduct, indeed, upon this occasion, is so utterly indefensible, that his very ingenious and learned advocate, Dr Middleton himself, is obliged to confess, that it was "contrary to his judg-"ment, his resolution, and his dignity." *Orat. pro. Sext. in Piso de Prov. consular. pro Rabir. Plut. in vit. Caton. Uticin. Life of Cicer.* II. 121. 8vo. Edit. See p. 208. note.

self; as they pleased themselves with imagining it would for ever throw me at a distance from those who were joined with him in the same interest.* Pompey, in the mean time, employed incredible pains to close this breach; and Cæsar also mentioned it in his letters, as an incident that gave him much concern. Upon these considerations, therefore, I thought it expedient to act agreeably both to the dictates of my natural temper, and to that experience which I had gained by my former misfortunes. In pursuance of these sentiments, I consented to a reconcilement; and, in order to render it more conspicuous to the world, Crassus set out for his government† almost from under my roof; for, having invited himself to spend the preceding

* Cæsar and Pompey. The former (who was undoubtedly as much superior to the rest of his contemporaries in genius as in fortune) finding it necessary for his purposes that Crassus and Pompey should act in concert, procured a reconciliation between them; and by this means, says Plutarch, formed that invincible Triumvirate, which ruined the authority both of the senate and the people; and of which he alone received the advantage. *Plut. in Crass.*

† The province of Syria was allotted to Crassus, for which he set out a month or two before the expiration of his consulate, in the year 698, and from whence he never returned, as has already been observed in the notes on the 7th letter of this Book. See p. 136.

night with me, we supped together in the gardens of my son-in-law Crassipes.* It was for these reasons that I thought my honour obliged me to defend his cause in the senate;† and I confess I mentioned him with that high applause, of which, it seems, you have been informed.

Thus I have given you a full detail of the several views and motives by which I am governed in the present conjuncture, as well as of the particular disposition in which I stand with respect to the slender part I can pretend to claim in the administration of public affairs. And, believe me, I should have judged and acted entirely in the same manner, had I been totally free from every sort of amicable bias. For, on the one hand, I should have esteemed it the most absurd folly to have attempted to oppose so superior a force; and, on the other, supposing it possible, I should yet have deemed it imprudent to weaken the authority of persons so eminently and so justly distinguished in the commonwealth.‡ Besides, it appears to me to be the dic-

* These gardens were situated a small distance from Rome, on the banks of the Tiber. *Ad Att.* iv. 12. *Ad Q. F.* iii. 7.

† See p. 136. note.

‡ It will appear very evident, perhaps, from the foregoing observations, that what Cicero here asserts, could not

tates of sound policy, to act in accommodation to particular conjunctures, and not inflexibly pursue the same unalterable scheme, when public circumstances, together with the sentiments of the best and wisest members of the community, are evidently changed. In conformity to this notion, the most

possibly be his real sentiments. That it was not practicable to bring down Cæsar and Pompey from that height of power to which they were now arrived, will not, probably, be disputed; though, at the same time, it is very difficult to set limits to what prudence and perseverance may effect. This, at least, seems undeniable, that if their power were absolutely immovable, Cicero's conduct was in the number of those causes which contributed to render it so. However, one cannot but be astonished to find our author seriously maintaining, that, granting it had not been impossible, it would yet have been impolitic, to have checked these towering chiefs in their ambitious flight. For it is plain, from a passage already cited out of his letters to Atticus, (see p. 199. note,) that he long foresaw their immoderate growth of power would at last overturn the liberties of the commonwealth. It had already, indeed, destroyed his own; and this too, by the confession of himself. For, in a letter which he writes to his brother, taking notice of the strong applications that Pompey had made to him to defend Gabinius, he declares he never will comply with that unworthy request, so long as he retained the least spark of liberty. But, comply, however, he actually did; equally, in truth, to his own disgrace, and to the confutation of the doctrine he here advances. *Ad Q. F.* iii. 1. See p. 205. note.

judicious reasoners on the great art of government, have universally condemned an obstinate perseverance in one uniform tenor of measures. The skill of the pilot is shewn in weathering the storm at least, though he should not gain his port; but if shifting his sails, and changing his direction, will infallibly carry him with security into the intended harbour, would it not be an instance of most unreasonable tenaciousness to continue in the more hazardous course, wherein he began his voyage? Thus (and it is a maxim I have often had occasion to inculcate) the point we ought all of us to keep in view in our administration of the commonwealth, is the final enjoyment of an honourable repose; but the method of securing to ourselves this dignity of retreat, is by having been invariable in our intentions for the public welfare, and not by a positive perseverance in certain favourite modes of obtaining it.* To repeat therefore, what I just now

* The reasoning which Cicero here employs is certainly just, considered abstractedly; but by no means applicable to the present case. The question between the aristocratical party, and those who were favourers of Cæsar and Pompey, was, not what road should be taken to the same end, but whether Rome should be free or enslaved. Let who would then have changed their sentiments in this point, it became not the *Father of his Country* to increase the number. But as Cicero acquired that most honourable of all

declared, had I been absolutely uninfluenced by every motive of friendship, I should still have pursued the same public measures in which I am now engaged. But when gratitude and resentment both conspire in recommending this scheme of action to me, I cannot hesitate a moment in adopting it, especially since it appears most conducive to the interests of the republic in general, as well as to my own in particular. To speak freely, I act upon this principle so much the more frequently, and with the less reserve, not only as my brother is Lieutenant under Cæsar, but as the latter receives the slightest action or even word of mine in his favour, with an air that evidently shews he considers them as obligations of the most sensible kind. And, in fact, I derive the same benefit from that popularity and power which you know he possesses, as if they were so many advantages of my own. The sum of the whole, in short, is this: I imagined that I had no other method of counteracting those perfidious designs with which a certain party were secretly contriving to undermine me, than by thus uniting the friendship and protection of the men in

appellations, by Catiline, he lost it again by Clodius; or, to express the same thing in his own words, *non recordor* (as he confesses to Atticus) *unde ceciderim, sed unde serrexerim. Ad Att.* iv. 16.

power, with those internal aids which have never yet been wanting to my support.*

I am well persuaded, had you been in Rome, you would have concurred with me in these sentiments. I know, indeed, the candour and moderation of your temper; and I know, too, that your heart not only glows with friendship towards me,

* There is no character in all antiquity, perhaps, that lies so open to discovery as that of Cicero; and yet there is none, at the same time, which seems to be less generally understood. Had there been no other of his writings extant, however, but this single letter, the patriot character, one should have imagined, would have been the last that the world would ever have ascribed to our author. It is observable, (and it is an observation for which I am obliged to a gentleman, who, amidst far more important occupations, did not refuse to be the censurer of these papers,) that "the principles by which Cicero attempts to justify "himself in this epistle, are such as will equally defend the "most abandoned prostitution and desertion in political "conduct. Personal gratitude and resentment; an eye to "private and particular interest, mixed with a pretended "regard to public good; an attention to a brother's ad-"vancement and farther favour; a sensibility in being ca-"ressed by a great man in power; a calculation of the ad-"vantages derived from the popularity and credit of that "great man to one's own personal self, are very weak foun-"dations, indeed, to support the superstructure of a true "patriot's character. Yet these are the principles which "Cicero here expressly avows and defends!"

but is wholly untainted with malevolence towards others; in a word, I know, that, as you possess every sublime and generous affection, you are incapable of any thing so mean as artifice and disguise. Nevertheless, even this elevated disposition has not secured you from the same unprovoked malice, which I have experienced in my own affairs. I doubt not, therefore, if you had been an actor in this scene, the same motives would have swayed *your* conduct, which have governed *mine*. But, however that may be, I shall most certainly submit all my actions to your guidance and advice, whenever I shall again enjoy your company; and I am sure you will not be less attentive to the preservation of my honour, than you formerly were to that of my person. Of this, at least, you may be persuaded, that you will find me a faithful friend and associate in all your counsels and measures; as it will be the first and daily purpose of my life, to supply you with additional and more powerful reasons for rejoicing in those obligations you have conferred upon me.

As you desire me to send you those compositions which I have written since you left Rome, I shall deliver some orations into the hands of Menocrates for that purpose. However, not to alarm you, their number is but inconsiderable; for I withdraw as much as possible from the contention of the bar,

in order to join those more gentle Muses which were always my delight, and are particularly so at this juncture. Accordingly, I have drawn up three Dialogues upon Oratory, wherein I have endeavoured to imitate the manner of Aristotle. I trust they will not prove altogether useless to your son, as I have rejected the modern precepts of rhetoric, and adopted the ancient Aristotelian and Isocratic rules. To this catalogue of my writings, I must also add an historical poem, which I have lately composed in three cantos, upon the subject of my banishment,* and as a lasting memorial likewise of your friendship and my gratitude. This I should long since have transmitted to you, had it been my immediate intention to make it public. But I am discouraged from this design at present; not, indeed, as fearing the resentment of those who may imagine themselves the objects of my satire, (for, in this respect, I have been extremely tender,) but as finding it impossible to make particular mention of every one from whom I received obligations at that season. However, when I shall meet with a proper opportunity, I will send it to you; submitting my writings, as well as my actions, entirely to your

* This poem Cicero delivered, sealed up, to his son; enjoining him, at the same time, not to publish or read it till after his death. *Manut.*

judgment. I know, indeed, these literary meditations have ever been the favourite employment of your thoughts, no less than of mine.*

Your family concerns, which you recommend to me, are so much a part of my own, that I am sorry you should think it necessary even to remind me of them. I could not, therefore, read your solicitations for that purpose, without some uneasiness.

I find you were prevented, by an indisposition, from going the last summer into Cilicia; which was the occasion, it seems, of your not settling my brother's affairs in that province. However, you give me assurance, that you will now take all possible methods of adjusting them. You cannot, indeed, oblige him more; and he will think himself as much indebted to you for procuring him this addi-

* To turn from the actions of Cicero to his writings, is changing our point of view, it must be acknowledged, extremely to his advantage. It is on this side, indeed, that his character can never be too warmly admired; and admired it will undoubtedly be, so long as manly eloquence and genuine philosophy have any friends. Perhaps there is something in that natural mechanism of the human frame necessary to constitute a fine genius, which is not altogether favourable to the excellencies of the heart. It is certain, at least, (and let it abate our envy of uncommon parts,) that great superiority of intellectual qualifications, has not often been found in conjunction with the much nobler advantages of a moral kind.

tional farm, as if you had settled him in the possession of his patrimony. In the mean time, I entreat you to inform me frequently and freely of all your affairs, and particularly give me an account of the studies and exercises in which your son is engaged. For be well persuaded, never friend was more agreeable, or more endeared to another, than you are to me; and of this truth I hope to render not only you, but all the world, and even posterity itself, thoroughly sensible.

Appius* has lately declared in the senate, (what he had before, indeed, often intimated in conversation,) that if he could get his proconsular commission confirmed in an assembly of the Curiæ,† he would cast lots with his colleague for the particular province to which they should respectively succeed; if not, that, by an amicable agreement between themselves, he had resolved upon yours.‡

* Appius Claudius Pulcher, one of the present consuls. See p. 240. note.

† Romulus divided the city into a certain number of districts called Curiæ, which somewhat resembled our parishes. When the people were summoned together, to transact any business agreeably to this division, it was called an assembly of the Curiæ; where the most votes in every Curiæ was considered as the voice of the whole district, and the most Curiæ as the general consent of the people. *Ken. R. A.*

‡ The senate annually nominated the two provinces to

He added, that, in the case of a consul, it was not absolutely necessary, though, perhaps, it might be expedient, to procure a law of this kind; and, as a government had been appointed him by a decree of the senate, he was entitled, he said, in consequence of the Cornelian law, to a military command, till the time of his entrance into Rome.* I know not what accounts you may have received of this matter from your other friends; but I find the sentiments of the world are much divided.

which the consuls should succeed at the expiration of their office; but it was left to the consuls themselves to determine, either by casting lots, or by private agreement, which of the particular provinces so assigned, they should respectively administer. *Manut. de leg.* c. x.

* Though the nomination of the proconsular provinces was a privilege reserved to the senate, yet it was the prerogative of the people to confer on the proconsuls the power of executing the military functions, and likewise it should seem to grant the necessary appointments for conveying them to their respective governments. By a law, however, which was made by Cornelius Sylla, during his Dictatorship, in the year 672, it was enacted, that, whatever magistrate, at the expiration of his office, should obtain a province by a decree of the senate, he should be invested with the full power of a proconsul, notwithstanding his commission were not confirmed by an assembly of the Curiæ. But Sylla's dictatorship being considered as an usurpation, it is probable, from the passage before us, that this law was not generally esteemed valid. Appius, nevertheless, endeavour-

Some are of opinion, that you are not obliged to resign your government, if your successors should not be authorised by an assembly of the Curiæ; whilst others maintain, that, notwithstanding you should think proper to leave the province, you may, nevertheless, depute a person to preside in your absence. As to myself, I am not altogether so clear with respect to the law in question; though I must own, at the same time, that my doubts are by no means considerable. Of this, however, I am perfectly sure, that it is agreeable to your honour, and to that generosity of conduct in which I know you place your highest gratification, quietly to yield up your province to your successor; especially as you cannot, in this instance, oppose his ambitious views, without incurring the suspicion of being influenced by the same motives yourself. But, be that as it will, I thought it incumbent upon me to inform you of my sentiments, as I shall certainly defend yours, whichever way they may determine you to act.

After I had finished my letter, I received your

ed to avail himself of it, from an apprehension, that he might meet with some obstruction in the usual method of applying for a ratification of his powers; and, indeed, it may be collected from a letter to Atticus, that he at last set forward to his government without the sanction of the people. *Manut. de Leg. Græv. præf. in antiq.* l. *Ad Att.* iv. 16.

last concerning the farmers of the revenues.* Your decision appears to me, I must own, perfectly equitable; yet, at the same time, I cannot but wish you might be so happy as not to disgust a body of men, whose interest you have hitherto always favoured. However, you may be assured I shall support the decrees you have made upon this occasion; though you well know the temper and disposition of these people, and what formidable enemies they proved to the excellent Quintus Scævola.† I would re-

* The society of farmers of the public revenues, among the Romans, was a body of men in high repute, as being composed of the principal persons of the equestrian order: *Flos equitum Romanorum* (says Cicero) *ornamentum civitatis, firmamentum reip. Publicanorum ordine continetur.—Pro Planc.* Disputes frequently arose between these and the tributary provinces; and it is to some difference of this kind, wherein Lentulus had given judgment against them, that Cicero seems to allude.

† There were two very eminent persons of this name in Cicero's time. The first, the most celebrated lawyer and politician of his age, is distinguished by the title of Augur. The other, who was High Priest, was slain at the entrance of the temple of Vesta, as he was endeavouring to make his escape from that general massacre of the senators which was perpetrated by the orders of the young Marius. To which of these Tully alludes is uncertain. Manutius supposes to the former, but without assigning his reasons. It seems not unlikely, however, to be the latter, as there is a passage in Valerius Maximus, by which we find that he

commend it to you, therefore, if possible, to recover their good graces, or at least to soften them. The task, I confess, is difficult; but prudence, I think, requires you should use your best endeavours for that purpose. Farewell.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 699.]

TO LUCIUS CULLEOLUS, PROCONSUL.*

IT was with the warmest expressions of gratitude, that my friend Lucceius† acquainted me, you

exercised his Asiatic government with so much honour and integrity, that the senate, in their subsequent decrees for nominating the Proconsuls to that province, always recommended him as an example worthy of their imitation. It appears, by a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, that he endeavoured, during his administration in Asia, to reform the great abuses which were committed by the farmers of the revenues in his province, and imprisoned many of them for their cruel oppressions of the people. This drew upon him their indignation; but in what particular instance he was a sufferer by it, history does not mention. *Liv. epit.* 86. *Val. Max.* viii. 15.

* The person to whom this letter is addressed, and the province of which he was proconsul, are equally unknown.

† An account of Lucceius has already been given in p. 80. note.

had generously assured his agents of your assistance; as, indeed, I know not a man in the world who has a heart more sensible of obligations. But if your promises only were thus acceptable to him, how much more will he think himself indebted to you, when you shall have performed (as I am well persuaded you will most faithfully perform) these your obliging engagements?

The people of Bullis* have intimated a disposition to refer the demands in question between Lucceius and themselves, to Pompey's arbitration; but as the concurrence of your influence and authority will be necessary, I very strongly entreat you to exert both for this purpose.

It affords me great satisfaction to find, that your letter to Lucceius, together with your promises to his agents, have convinced them that no man has more credit with you than myself; and I earnestly conjure you to confirm them in these sentiments, by every real and substantial service in your power. Farewell.

* Geographers are not agreed as to the situation of this city, some placing it in Illyria, others in Macedonia.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 699.]

TO THE SAME.

You could never have disposed of your favours where they would be more gratefully remembered, than on my friend Lucceius. But the obligation is not confined to him only; Pompey likewise takes a share in it: and whenever I see him, (as I often do,) he never fails to express, in very strong terms, how much he thinks himself indebted to you. To which I will add, (what I know will give you great satisfaction,) that it afforded me also a very sensible pleasure. As you cannot now discontinue these obliging offices, without forfeiting your character of constancy, I doubt not of your persevering in the same friendly services for your own sake, which you at first engaged in for ours. I cannot forbear, nevertheless, most earnestly entreating you to proceed in what you have thus generously begun, till you shall have perfectly completed the purposes for which we requested your assistance. You will by these means greatly oblige not only Lucceius, but Pompey; and never, I will venture to assure you, can you lay out your services to more advantage. I have nothing further to add, having given

you my full sentiments of public affairs, in a letter which I wrote to you a few days ago, by one of your domestics. Farewell.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 699.]

TO CURIUS, PROCONSUL.*

I HAVE long been intimately connected with Quintus Pompeius, by a variety of repeated good offices. As he has upon many former occasions supported his interests, his credit, and his authority, in your province, by my influence; so, now the administration is in your hands, he ought undoubtedly to find, by the effects of this letter, that none of your predecessors have ever paid a greater regard to my recommendations. The strict union, indeed, that subsists between you and myself, gives me a right to expect that you will look upon every friend of mine as your own. But I most earnestly entreat you to receive Pompeius in so particular a manner into your protection and favour, as to convince him, that nothing could have proved more to

* The person to whom this letter is addressed, and the time when it was written, are unknown.

his advantage and his honour than my applications to you in his behalf. Farewell.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 699.]

TO BASILIUS. *

I CONGRATULATE both you and myself on the present joyful occasion. All your affairs here are much my concern, as your person is infinitely dear to me. Love me in return, and let me know what you are doing, and what is going forward in your part of the world. Farewell.

* If Basilius be the true name of the person to whom this letter is inscribed, (and indeed all the editions agree in calling him so,) no account can be given concerning him. But, if we may be allowed to suppose the genuine reading to be *Bacilus*, he was prætor in the year 708; and Cæsar not having given him a province, as was usual, at the expiration of his office, he was so mortified with the affront, that he put an end to his life.—*Dio*, xliii. p. 237.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 699.]

TO QUINTUS PHILIPPUS, PROCONSUL. *

I CONGRATULATE your safe return from your province, in the fulness of your fame, and amidst the general tranquillity of the republic. If I were in Rome, I should have waited upon you, for this purpose, in person, and in order, likewise, to make my acknowledgments to you for your favours to my friends Egnatius and Oppius.

I am extremely sorry to hear that you have taken great offence against my friend and host, Antipater. I cannot pretend to judge of the merits of the case; but I know your character too well, not to be persuaded, that you are incapable of indulging an unreasonable resentment. I conjure you, however, by our long friendship, to pardon, for my sake, his sons, who lie entirely at your mercy. If I imagined you could not grant this favour consistently with your honour, I should be far from making the request; as my regard for your reputation is much superior to all considerations of friendship which I owe to this family. But, if I am not

* See p. 135. note.

mistaken, (and, indeed, I very possibly may,) your clemency towards them will rather add to your character, than derogate from it. If it be not too much trouble, therefore, I should be glad you would let me know how far a compliance with my request is in your power; for that it is in your inclination, I have not the least reason to doubt.---Farewell.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 699.]

TO LUCIUS VALERIUS,* THE LAWYER.

For† why should I not gratify your vanity with that honourable appellation? Since, as the times

* Valerius is only known by this letter and another, wherein Cicero recommends him to Appius as a person who lived in his family, and for whom he entertained a very singular affection. By the air of this epistle, he seems to have been one of that sort of lawyers, who may more properly be said to be of the profession than the science. But, as the vein of humour, which runs through this letter, partly consists in playing upon words, it is not very easy, perhaps it is impossible, to be preserved in a translation; and, as it alludes to circumstances which are now altogether unknown, it must necessarily lose much of its original spirit.

† The abrupt beginning of this letter has induced some of the commentators to suspect that it is not entire. But

go, my friend, confidence will readily pass upon the world for skill.

I have executed the commission you sent me, and made your acknowledgments to Lentulus. But I wish you would render my offices of this kind unnecessary, by putting an end to your tedious absence. Is it not more worthy of your mighty ambition to be blended with your learned brethren at Rome, than to stand the sole great wonder of wisdom, amidst a parcel of paltry provincials? * But

Manutius has very justly observed, that it evidently refers to the inscription; and he produces an instance of the same kind from one of the epistles to Atticus.—*Vid. Ad Att.* iii. 20.

* After this passage in the original, Cicero goes on in the following strain: *Quanquam qui istinc veniunt, partim te superbum esse dicunt, quod* nihil respondeas; *partim contumeliosum, quod* male respondeas. The translator, however, has ventured to omit this witticism, upon the advice of Horace:

——————— *Quæ*
Desperat tentata nitescere posse, relinquit.

It is a pun, indeed, which has already occurred in one of the preceding letters to Trebatius, where our author plays in the same manner upon the equivocal sense of the verb *respondere*.—See p. 166. Voiture has managed an allusion of this kind much more successfully. *Si vous pretendez* (says that agreeable writer to his friend the plenipoten-

I long to rally you in person; for which merry purpose, I desire you would hasten hither as expeditiously as possible. I would, by no means, however, advise you to take Apulia in the way, lest some disastrous adventure, in those unlucky regions, should prevent our welcoming your safe arrival. And, in truth, to what purpose should you visit this your native province? * for, like Ulysses,

tiary at Munster) *que la dignité de plenipotentiare vous dispense de respondre, Papinian avoit à sa charge toutes les affaires de l'empire Romain, et je vous monstrerai en cent lieux dans de gros livres,* Papinianus respondit, et respondit Papinianus. *Les plus sages et les plus prudens etoient ceux qui avoient accoustumé de répoudre,* et de la responsa sapientum, et prudentum responsa. *Les oracles mêmes, quand vous en seriez un, répondoient; et il n'est pas qu'aux choses inanimées, qui ne se mettent quelquefois en devoir de répondre:*

Les eaux et les rochers et les bois lui répondent.
Let. de Voit. i. 165.

* Manutius imagines, that Cicero means to rally the obscurity of his friend's birth. Perhaps it would be nearer the truth, to acknowledge, that it is impossible to know what he means; yet, as this sense is as consistent with the original as any other, it is adopted in the translation. But if this very learned commentator be right in his general notion of this passage, he is certainly deceived in his interpretation of *tanquam Ulysses, cognosces tuorum neminem*, with which the letter concludes. For he takes the verb

when he first returned to his Ithaca, you will be much too prudent, undoubtedly, to lay claim to your noble kindred. Farewell.

cognosco in its usual acceptation; by which means he makes Cicero mistake so well known a story as that of the behaviour of Ulysses upon his first return to Ithaca. However, he is persuaded, that this is a designed misrepresentation in his author; and discovers I know not what improvement of the humour by this very perversion of the fable. The labours of this penetrating commentator have cast such a light upon the writings of Cicero, that even his errors deserve to be treated with respect, otherwise one might justly laugh at a notion so exactly in the true spirit of a fanciful critic, who refines upon his own mistakes. It is a mistake, nevertheless, in which all the succeeding commentators concur with him, except Mr Ross, who has removed the whole difficulty of the passage, by explaining *cognosco* in the sense of *agnosco*. This sense (in which, indeed, it is not unfrequently used) reconciles the allusion to the truth of the fact; and where a word has several significations, it would be out of all rule of criticism to understand it in an application the least favourable to an author's meaning. It is not always so easy, however, to justify Cicero with respect to Homer; and he has, in one instance at least, been betrayed into an error in quoting that poet. The instance occurs in his Tusculan disputations, where he takes notice of that passage in the seventh Iliad, in which Ajax is described as going forth to accept the challenge of Hector.—*Videmus*, says he, *progredientem apud Homerum, Ajacem multa cum hilaritate cum depugnaturus esset cum Hectore; cujus, ut arma sumpsit, ingressio lætitiam attulit sociis, ter-*

rorem autem hostibus: ut ipsum Hectorem, quemadmodum est apud Homerum, toto pectore trementem, *provocasse ad pugnam pæniteret.*—Tusc. Disp. iv. 22. But Homer by no means represents Hector thus totally dismayed at the approach of his adversary; and indeed it would have been inconsistent with the general character of that hero to have described him under such circumstances of terror:

Τον δε και Αργειοι μεγ' εγηθεον εισοροωντες·
Τρωας δε τρομος αινος υπηλυθε γυια εκαστον,
Εκτορι τ' αυτῳ θυμος ενι στηθεσσι πατασσεν.

Ver. 214.

But there is a great difference (as Dr Clarke observes, in his remarks upon these lines) between θυμος ενι στηθεσσιν πατασσεν, and καρδιη εξω στηθεων εθρωσκει, or τρομος αινος υπηλυθε γυια. The Trojans, says Homer, trembled at the sight of Ajax; and even Hector himself felt some emotion in his breast; or, to express it in the same spirit of poetry, which distinguishes the original,

Through every Argive heart new transport ran;
All Troy stood trembling at the mighty man.
Even Hector paused; and, with new doubt opprest,
Felt his great heart suspended in his breast.

POPE.

Perhaps this slip of attention in so great an author may not be improperly pointed out, as engaging the candour of the reader towards those errors of the same nature, which he will too probably meet with in the course of this attempt.

LETTERS

OF

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

TO

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK THIRD.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS CURIO.*

THOUGH I am sorry you should suspect me of neglecting you, I will acknowledge, that I am not so much concerned at your reproaches for my not writing, as I am pleased to find that you are desi-

* Curio was a young nobleman of great parts, spirit, and eloquence; but addicted, beyond all modesty or measure, to the prevailing luxury and gallantries of a most dissolute age. After having dissipated his fortune by extravagant indulgencies, for which no estate could suffice, he fell an

rous of hearing from me. Conscious, indeed, of not meriting your friendly accusation, the instance it afforded me that my letters were acceptable to you, was a very agreeable proof of the continuance

easy prey to corruption. Accordingly, Cæsar paid his debts, amounting to almost 500,000l. and by that means gained him over from the cause of liberty, to become one of the warmest and most active of his partizans. It is generally imagined, that Virgil glances at him in those well-known lines, *vendidit hic auro patriam*, &c. though, indeed, they are applicable to so many others of his contemporaries, that there seems no great reason to imagine the poet had Curio particularly in his view. Lucan mentions him as one whose talents would probably have been of the highest honour and benefit to his country, if he had lived in times of less contagious depravation:

Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma,
Aut cui plus leges deberent, recta sequenti.
Perdita tunc urbi nocuerunt secula, postquam
Ambitus et luxus, et opum metuenda facultas,
Transverso mentem dubiam torrente tulerunt.

A soul more formed to aid his country's cause,
Avenge her insults, and support her laws,
Rome never knew; but ah! in evil hour,
Fate bade thee live when virtue was no more!
When lawless lust of power, and av'rice dread,
And baneful luxury, the land o'erspread.
Thy wavering mind the torrent ill-withstood,
Borne, scarce resisting, down the impetuous flood.

of that affection which I have already so frequently experienced. Believe me, I have never omitted writing, whenever any person offered whom I imagined likely to convey my letters into your hands; and which of your acquaintance, I will venture to ask, is a more punctual correspondent than myself? In return, however, I have scarce received more than one or two letters from you since you left Rome; and those two extremely concise. Thus, you see, I can justly retort your charge; you must not, therefore, pass too severe a sentence on your part, if you hope to receive a favourable one on mine. But I will dwell no longer on this article, than to assure you, that, since you are disposed to accept these memorials of my friendship, I doubt not of acquitting myself to your full satisfaction.

He distinguished himself with great bravery in support of Cæsar's cause in Africa, where Varus commanded on the part of the republic. But, after some successful engagements, he lost his life before the battle of Pharsalia, in an action against the troops of Juba, near Utica. At the time when this letter, and the rest that are addressed to him in the present Book, were written, he resided in Asia, where, as Manutius conjectures, he was employed in quality of quæstor to Caius Clodius.—*Vel. Pat.* ii. 48. *Plut. in vit. Cæs. Val. Max.* ix. 6. *Æn.* vi. 620. *Luc.* iv. 814. *Liv. epit.* 110.

Though I regret extremely the being thus long* deprived of your very agreeable company, yet I cannot but rejoice at an absence which has contributed so much to your honour; as fortune, indeed, has, in all that concerns you, answered my warmest wishes. I have only to offer you one short piece of advice, and I offer it in compliance with the sincere dictates of that singular affection I bear you. Let me earnestly, then, entreat you, to come well prepared, at your return, to act up to those great ideas which the world has, with so much reason, conceived of your spirit and talents. And as nothing can ever wear out the deep impressions your good offices have stamped upon my mind,† so, I hope, you will not forget, on your side, that you could not have attained those honours or advantages that attend you, if you had not, in the earlier part of your life, complied with my faithful and affectionate admonitions.‡ Have I not reason,

* "Curio had been, most probably, absent from Rome "about two years; for Caius Clodius, to whom he is sup- "posed to have been quæstor, obtained the government of "Asia, An. Urb. 698."—*Pig. Annal. Mr Ross.*

† Curio assisted him in his contest with Clodius.

‡ Curio, when he was a very young man, had entered into a commerce of the most criminal and detestable kind with Antony. His father, in order to break off this infamous intercourse, was obliged to call in Cicero to his as-

then, to expect, in return, that as the weight of old age now begins to bend me down, * you will suffer me to repose my declining years upon your youth and friendship. Farewell.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

If you were not already in the number of our absentees, undoubtedly you would be tempted to leave us at this juncture; for what business can a lawyer expect in Rome during this long and general suspension of all juridical proceedings! † Ac-

sistance; who, by his prudent and friendly advice, weaned the son from a passion not less expensive, it seems, than it was execrable; and, by this means, (as Cicero reproaches Antony in one of his Philippics,) he saved an illustrious family from utter ruin.—*Plut. in vit. Anton. Cic. Plut.* ii. 18.

* Cicero was at this time in the 54th year of his age. *Manut.*

† The feuds in the republic were raised to so great a height towards the latter end of the preceding year, and the beginning of the present, that the office of the late consuls had expired several months before new ones could be elected. In exigencies of this kind, the constitution had provided a magistrate, called an *Interrex*, to whom the

cordingly, I advise my friends, who have any actions commenced against them, to petition each successive interrex* for a double enlargement of the usual time for putting in their pleas; and is not this a proof how wonderfully I have profited by your sage instructions in the law? † But tell me, my friend, since your letters, I observe, have lately run in a more enlivened strain than usual,

consular power was provisionally delegated. But public business, however, was at a stand, and the courts of judicature, in particular, were shut up during this interregnum; a circumstance from which Cicero takes occasion to enter into his usual vein of pleasantry with Trebatius, and to rally him in perpetual allusions to his profession.—*Dio*, xl.

* This office of *Interrex* continued only five days; at the expiration of which, if consuls were not chosen, a new *Interrex* was appointed for the same short period. And in this manner the succession of these occasional magistrates was carried on, till the elections were determined.

† The minute forms of law-proceedings among the Romans, are not sufficiently known to distinguish precisely the exact point on which Cicero's humour in this passage turns; and, accordingly, the explanations which the commentators have offered, are by no means satisfactory. It would be foreign to the purpose of these remarks, to lay before the reader their several conjectures; it will be sufficient, in general, to observe, that there was some notorious impropriety in the advice which Cicero here represents himself as have given to his friends, and in which the whole force of his pleasantry consists.

what is it that has elevated you into so gay a humour? This air of pleasantry I like well; it looks as if the world went successfully with you, and I am all impatience to know what it is that has thus raised your spirits. You inform me, indeed, that Cæsar does you the honour to advise with you. For my own part, however, I had rather hear that he *consulted* your interest than your judgment. But seriously, if the former is really the case, or there is any probability of its proving so, let me entreat you to continue in your present situation, and patiently submit to the inconveniences of a military life; as, on my part, I shall support myself under your absence with the hopes of its turning to your advantage. But, if all expectations of this kind are at an end, let us see you as soon as possible; and, perhaps, some method may be found here, of improving your fortunes. If not, we shall at least have the satisfaction of enjoying each other's company; and one hour's conversation together is of more value to us, my friend, than the whole city of Samarobriva.* Besides, if you return soon, the disappointment you have suffered may pass unremarked; whereas a longer pursuit, to no purpose, would be so ridiculous a circumstance, that I am

* A city in Belgic Gaul, and probably the place wherein Trebatius had his present quarters.

terribly afraid it would scarce escape the drollery of those very arch fellows, Laberius * and my companion Valerius.† And what a burlesque charac-

* Laberius was a Roman knight, who distinguished himself by his comic humour, and he had written several farces which were acted with great applause. He was prevailed upon by Cæsar to take a part himself in one of his own performances, and the prologue which he spoke upon that occasion is still extant. The whole composition is extremely spirited, and affords a very advantageous specimen of his genius; but there is something so peculiarly just and beautiful in the thought of the concluding lines, that the reader, perhaps, will not regret the being carried out of his way in order to observe it. Laberius was sixty years of age when, in complaisance to Cæsar, he thus made his first entrance upon the stage; and, in allusion to a circumstance so little favourable to his appearing with success, he tells the audience,

Ut hedera serpens vires arboreas necat;
Ita me vetustas amplexu annorum enecat:
Sepulchri similis, nihil nisi nomen retineo!

While round the oak the fraudful ivy twines,
Robbed of its strength, the sapless tree declines;
Thus envious age, advanced with stealing pace,
Clasps my chill'd limbs, and kills with cold embrace.
Like empty monuments to heroes' fame,
Of all I was retaining but the name!

Macrob. Saturn. ii. 7.

† This Valerius is supposed, by some of the commenta-

ter would a British lawyer furnish out for the Roman stage! You may smile, perhaps, at this notion; but though I mention it in my usual style of pleasantry, let me tell you it is no jesting matter. In good earnest, if there is any prospect that my recommendations will avail in obtaining the honours you deserve, I cannot but exhort you, in all the sincerity of the warmest friendship, to make yourself easy under this absence, as a means of increasing both your fortunes and your fame; if not, I would strongly advise your return. I have no doubt, however, that your own merit, in conjunction with my most zealous services, will procure you every advantage you can reasonably desire.---Farewell.

tors, to be Quintus Valerius Catullus, a celebrated poet, who, as appears by his works, which are still extant, was patronized by Cicero. But the opinion of Manutius is much more probable, that the person here meant is the same to whom the 13th Letter of the first Book in this collection is addressed, and who is likewise mentioned in the following epistle.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 700.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.*

If the genius of Rome were himself to give you an account of the commonwealth, you could not be more fully apprised of public affairs, than by the information you will receive from Phanias; a person, let me tell you, not only of consummate politics, but of infinite curiosity. I refer you, therefore, to him, as to the shortest and safest means of being acquainted with our situation. I might trust him, likewise, with assuring you, at the same time, of the friendly disposition of my heart towards

* Appius Clodius Pulcher had been consul the preceding year, and was at this time governor of Cilicia. The particular traits of his character will be occasionally marked out in the observations on the several letters addressed to him in this and the subsequent Books. In the mean time, it may be sufficient to observe, that Cicero very zealously cultivated his friendship, not from any real opinion of his merit, but as one whose powerful alliances rendered him too considerable to be despised as an enemy; for one of Appius's daughters was married to Pompey's son, and the other to Brutus.—See *Life of Cic.* ii. 204. 8vo ed. *Ep. Fam.* ii. 13.

you; but that is an office which I must claim the privilege of executing with my own hand. Be persuaded, then, that I think of you with the highest affection; as, indeed, you have a full right to these sentiments, not only from the many generous and amiable qualities of your mind, but from that grateful sensibility, with which, as I am informed, both by your own letters and the general account of others, you receive my best services. I shall endeavour, therefore, by my future good offices, to compensate for that long intermission which, unhappily, suspended our former intercourse.* And, since you seem willing to renew our amicable commerce, I doubt not of engaging in it with the general approbation of the world.†

* Appius was brother to Cicero's declared enemy, the turbulent Clodius, which occasioned that interruption of their friendship to which he here alludes. It appears by a passage in the oration for Milo, that Clodius, in the absence of his brother, had forcibly taken possession of an estate belonging to Appius; and the indignation which this piece of injustice must necessarily raise in the latter, rendered him, it is probable, so much the more disposed to a re-union with Cicero.—*Orat. pro. Mil.* 27.

† The whole passage, in the original, stands thus: "*Idque* "*me, quoniam tu ita vis, puto non invita Minerva facturum:* "quam quidem ego, si forte de tuis sumpsero, non solum "Pallada, sed etiam Appiada nominabo." The former part of this sentence is translated agreeably to the inter-

Your freedman Cilix was very little known to me before he delivered your obliging letter into my hands; the friendly purport of which he confirmed with great politeness. The account indeed he gave me of your sentiments, as well as of the frequent and favourable mention you are pleased to make of my name, were circumstances which I heard with much pleasure. In short, during our two days conversation together, he entirely won my heart; not to the exclusion, however, of my old friend Phanias, whose return I impatiently expect. I imagine you will speedily order him back to Rome; and I hope you will not dismiss him, without sending me, at the same time, your full and unreserved commands.

I very strongly recommend to your patronage Valerius the lawyer;* even though you should discover that he has but a slender claim to that appellation. I mention this, as being more cautious in obviating the flaws in his *title*, than he usually is in guarding against those of his clients. But, seriously, I have a great affection for the man; as

pretation of the learned Gronovius; but the latter is wholly omitted. For, notwithstanding all the pains of the commentators to explain its difficulties, it is utterly unintelligible; at least, I do not scruple to confess, it is so to me.

* See p. 226.

indeed he is my particular friend and companion. I must do him the justice to say, that he is extremely sensible of the favours you have already conferred upon him. Nevertheless, he is desirous of my recommendation, as he is persuaded it will have much weight with you. I entreat you to convince him that he is not mistaken. Farewell.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS MEMMIUS.*

YOUR tenant, Caius Evander, is a person with whom I am very intimate; as his patron Marcus Æmilius is in the number of my most particular friends. I entreat your permission, therefore, that he may continue some time longer in your house, if it be not inconvenient to you; for, as he has a great deal of work upon his hands, he cannot remove so soon as the first of July, without being extremely hurried. I should be ashamed to use many words in soliciting a favour of this nature at your hands; and I am persuaded, that, if it is not very much to your prejudice, you will be as well inclined to grant me this request, as I should be to

* See an account of him in the 27th Letter of this Book.

comply with any of yours. I will only add, therefore, that your indulgence will greatly oblige me. Farewell.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

I was wondering at the long intermission of your letters, when my friend Pansa accounted for your indolence, by assuring me, that you were turned an Epicurean. Glorious effect indeed of camp-conversation! But if a metamorphosis so extraordinary has been wrought in you amidst the martial air of Samarobriva, what would have been the consequence had I sent you to the softer regions of Tarentum?* I have been in some pain for your principles, I confess, ever since your intimacy with my friend Seius. But how will you reconcile your tenets to your profession, and act for the interest of your client, now that you have adopted the max-

* Tarentum was a city in Italy distinguished for the softness and luxury of its inhabitants. Geographers inform us, that the greatest part of their year was consumed in the celebration of stated festivals.—*Vid. Bunon. comment. in Cluverii Geograph.*

im of doing nothing but for your own? With what grace can you insert the usual clause in your deeds of agreement; *The parties to these presents as becomes good men and true? &c.* For neither truth nor trust can there be in those who professedly govern themselves upon motives of absolute selfishness? I am in some pain, likewise, how you will settle the law concerning the partition of "rights in common;" as there can be nothing in common between those who make their own private gratification the sole criterion of right and wrong. Or can you think it proper to administer an oath, while you maintain that Jupiter is incapable of all resentment? In a word, what will become of the good people of Ulubræ,* who have placed themselves under your protection; if you hold the maxim of your sect, "that a wise man ought not to "engage himself in public affairs?" In good earnest, I shall be extremely sorry, if it is true that

* "Cicero jocosely speaks of this people as if they be-"longed to the most considerable town in Italy; whereas "it was so mean and contemptible a place, that Horace, "in order to shew the power of contentment, says, that a "person, possessed of that excellent temper of mind, may "be happy even at Ulubræ:

"*Est* Ulubris, *animus si te non deficit æquus.*"

Mr Ross.

you have really deserted us. But if your conversion is nothing more than a convenient compliment to the opinions of Pansa, I will forgive your dissimulation, provided you let me know soon how your affairs go on, and in what manner I can be of any service in them. Farewell.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS CURIO.

Our friendship, I trust, needs not any other evidence to confirm its sincerity, than what arises from the testimony of our own hearts. I cannot, however, but consider the death of your illustrious father, as depriving me of a most venerable witness to that singular affection I bear you.* I regret that he had not the satisfaction of taking a last farewell of you before he closed his eyes; it was the only circumstance wanting to render him as much superior to the rest of the world in his domestic happiness, as in his public fame.†

* See p. 234. note.

† He was consul in the year of Rome 676, when he acted with great spirit in opposition to the attempts of Sicinius, for restoring the tribunitial power, which had been

I sincerely wish you the happy enjoyment of your estate; and be assured, you will find in me a friend, who loves and values you with the same tenderness as your father himself conceived for you. Farewell.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

Can you seriously suppose me so unreasonable as to be angry, because I thought you discovered too inconstant a disposition in your impatience to leave Gaul? And can you possibly believe it was for that reason I have thus long omitted writing? The truth is, I was only concerned at the uneasiness which seemed to have overcast your mind; and I forebore to write upon no other account, but as being entirely ignorant where to direct my letters. I suppose, however, that this is a plea which your lofti-

much abridged by Sylla. In the following year he went governor into Macedonia, and, by his military conduct in that province, obtained the honour of a triumph. He distinguished himself among the friends of Cicero when he was attacked by Clodius. *Freinshem. supplem. in Liv.* xci. ciii.

ness will scarce condescend to admit. But tell me then, is it the weight of your purse, or the honour of being the counsellor of Cæsar, that most disposes you to be thus insufferably arrogant? Let me perish, if I do not believe, that thy vanity is so immoderate, as to choose rather to share in his councils than his coffers. But, should he admit you into a participation of both, you will undoubtedly swell into such intolerable airs, that no mortal will be able to endure you; or none, at least, except myself, who am philosopher enough, you know, to endure any thing. But I was going to tell you, that, as I regretted the uneasiness you formerly expressed, so I rejoice to hear that you are better reconciled to your situation. My only fear is, that your wonderful skill in the law will little avail you in your present quarters; for I am told, that the people you have to deal with,

> Rest the strength of their cause on the force of their might,
> And the sword is supreme arbitrator of right. *

As I know you do not choose to be concerned in *forcible entries,* and are much too peaceably disposed to be fond of making *assaults,* let me leave a piece of advice with my lawyer, and by all means

* Ennius.

recommend it to you to avoid the Treviri;* for I hear they are most formidable fellows. I wish from my heart they were as harmless as their name-sakes round the edges of our coin.† But I must reserve the rest of my jokes to another opportunity; in the mean time, let me desire you would send me a full account of whatever is going forward in your province. Farewell.

March the 4th.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.‡

YOUR letter was extremely agreeable to me in all respects, except that I was sorry to find by it you had slighted my lodge at Sinnuessa. I shall

* The Treviri were a most warlike people, bordering on Germany. They were defeated about this time by Labienus, one of Cæsar's lieutenants in Gaul.—*Cæsar. Bel. Gal.* viii.

† The public coin was under the inspection of three officers, called *Treviri monetales*; and several pieces of money are still extant in the cabinets of the curious, inscribed with the names of these magistrates.—*Vid. Petri Bembi Epist. apud Manut.*

‡ See an account of him, in Let. 24. of Book xi.

not excuse the affront you have thus passed upon my little hovel, unless you give me double satisfaction, by making use both of my Cuman and Pompeian villas. Let me entreat you then to do so, and to preserve me likewise in your affection. I hope you will provoke me to enter into a literary contest with you, by some of your writings; as I find it much easier to answer a challenge of this kind, than to send one. However, if you should persevere in your usual indolence, I shall venture to lead the way myself, in order to shew you, that your idleness has not infected me.

I steal a moment to write this whilst I am in the senate; but you shall have a longer letter from me when I shall be less engaged. Farewell.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

I AM giving you an instance, that those who love are not easily to be pleased, when I assure you, that though I was very much concerned when you told me that you continued in Gaul with reluctance, yet I am no less mortified now your letter informs me, that you like your situation extremely well. To say the truth, as I regretted you should not ap-

prove a scheme, which you pursued upon my recommendation, so I can ill bear that any place should be agreeable to you where I am not. Nevertheless, I had much rather endure the uneasiness of your absence, than suffer you to forego the advantages with which, I hope, it will be attended. It is impossible, therefore, to express how much I rejoice in your having made a friendship with a man of so improved an understanding, and so amiable a disposition, as Matius; whose esteem, I hope, you will endeavour to cultivate by every means in your power. For, believe me, you cannot bring home a more valuable acquisition. Farewell.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS CURIO.

You must not impute it to any neglect in Rupa, that he has not executed your commission; as he omitted it merely in compliance with the opinion of myself and the rest of your friends. We thought it most prudent, that no steps should be taken during your absence, which might preclude you from a change of measures after your return; and therefore, that it would be best he should not signify

your intentions of entertaining the people with public games.* I may, perhaps, in some future letter, give you my reasons at large against your executing that design; or rather, that you may not come prepared to answer my objections, I believe it will be the wisest way to reserve them till we meet. If I should not bring you over to my sentiments, I shall have the satisfaction, at least, of discharging the part of a friend; and should it happen, (which I hope, however, it will not,) that you should hereafter have occasion to repent of your scheme, you may then remember that I endeavoured to dissuade you from it. But this much I will now say, that those advantages, which fortune, in conjunction with your own industry and natural endowments, have put into your possession, supply a far surer method of opening your way to the highest dignities, than any ostentatious display

* Curio's pretence for exhibiting these games, was, to pay an honour to the memory of his father, lately deceased; but his principal motive was to ingratiate himself with the people, who were passionately attached to entertainments of this kind. As Cicero well knew the profusion of Curio's temper, and that the scheme he was meditating could not be executed without great expence, he acted a very judicious and honest part, in labouring to turn him aside from a project that would contribute to embarrass his finances, and most probably, therefore, impair the foundation of his integrity.

of the most splendid spectacles. The truth of it is, exhibitions of this kind, as they are instances of wealth only, not of merit, are by no means considered as reflecting any honour on the authors of them; not to mention, that the public is quite satiated with their frequent returns. But I am fallen unawares into what I designed to have avoided, and pointing out my particular reasons against your scheme. I will wave all farther discussions, therefore, of this matter, till we meet; and, in the mean time, inform you, that the world entertains the highest opinion of your virtues. Whatever advantages may be hoped from the most exalted patriotism, united with the greatest abilities, the public, believe me, expects from you. And should you come prepared (as I am sure you ought, and I trust you will,) to act up to these its glorious expectations, then indeed you will exhibit to your friends, and to the commonwealth in general, a spectacle of the noblest and most affecting kind.* In the

* Curio was not of a disposition to listen to this prudent counsel of his friend; but, in opposition to all the grave advice of Cicero, he persevered in his resolution, and executed it with great magnificence. The consequence was, just what Cicero foresaw and dreaded; he contracted debts which he was incapable of discharging, and then sold himself to Cæsar, in order to satisfy the clamours of his creditors. See p. 231. note.

meanwhile, be assured, no man has a greater share of my affection and esteem than yourself. Farewell.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

Two or three of your letters, which lately came to my hands at the same time, though of different dates, have afforded me great pleasure; as they were proofs that you have reconciled yourself, with much spirit and resolution, to the inconveniences of a military life. I had some little suspicion, I confess, of the contrary; not that I questioned your courage, but as imputing your uneasiness to the regret of our separation. Let me entreat you, then, to persevere in your present temper of mind; and, believe me, you will derive many and considerable advantages from the service in which you are engaged. In the mean while, I shall not fail to renew my solicitations to Cæsar in your favour, upon all proper occasions; and have herewith sent you a Greek letter to deliver to him for that purpose; for, in truth, you cannot be more anxious than I am, that this expedition may prove to your benefit. In return, I desire you would send me a full relation

of the Gallic war; for you must know, I always depend most upon the accounts of those who are *least engaged* in the action.

As I do not imagine you are altogether so considerable a person as to retain a secretary in your service, I could not but wonder you should trouble yourself with the precaution of sending me several copies of the same letter. Your parsimony, however, deserves to be applauded; as one of them, I observed, was written upon a tablet that had been used before. I cannot conceive what unhappy composition could be so very miserable as to deserve to give place upon this occasion, unless it were one of your own conveyances. I flatter myself, at least, it was not any sprightly epistle of mine that you thus disgraced, in order to scribble over it a dull one of your own; or was it your intention to intimate affairs go so ill with you, that you could not afford any better materials? If that should be your case, you must even thank yourself for not leaving your modesty behind you.

I shall recommend you in very strong terms to Balbus, when he returns into Gaul. But you must not be surprised if you should not hear from me again so soon as usual; as I shall be absent from Rome during all this month. I write this from Pomptinus, at the villa of Metrilius Philemon, where I am placed within hearing of those croak-

ing clients whom you recommended to my protection; for a prodigious number, it seems, of your * Ulubrean frogs are assembled, in order to compliment my arrival among them. Farewell.

April the 8th.

P. S. I have destroyed the letter I received from you by the hands of Lucius Aruntius, though it was much too innocent to deserve so severe a treatment; for it contained nothing that might not have been proclaimed before a general assembly of the people. However, it was your express desire I should destroy it; and I have complied accordingly. I will only add, that I wonder much at not having heard from you since, especially as so many extraordinary events have lately happened in your province.

* Cicero indicrously gives the inhabitants of Ulubræ this appellation, in allusion to the low and marshy situation of their town. See p. 215. note.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS CURIO.

NUMBERLESS are the subjects which may enter into a correspondence of the epistolary kind; but the most usual, and which indeed gave the first rise to this amicable commerce, is, to inform an absent friend of those private affairs, which it may be necessary, either for his interest or our own, that he should know. You must not, however, expect any thing of the latter sort from me; as your family correspondents, I am sensible, communicate to you what relates to your own concerns; and nothing new has happened in mine. There are two other species of letters, with which I am particularly pleased; those, I mean, that are written in the freedom and pleasantry of common conversation; and those which turn upon grave and moral topics. But in which of these it would be least improper for me to address you at this juncture, is a question not easily determined. Ill, indeed, would it become me to entertain you with letters of humour, at a season when every man of common sensibility has bidden adieu to mirth.* And what can Cicero

* Affairs at Rome were, at this time, in the utmost con-

write that shall deserve the serious thoughts of Curio, unless it be on public affairs? My situation, however, is such, that I dare not trust my real sentiments of those points in a letter: * and none other will I ever send you.† Thus precluded as I am from every other topic, I must content myself with repeating what I have often urged; and earnestly exhort you to the pursuit of true and solid glory. Believe me, it will require the utmost efforts of your care and resolution, to act up to those high and uncommon expectations which the world has

fusion, occasioned (as has already been observed in the notes above) by the factious interruption that was given to the usual election of the magistrates. See p. 235. note. This state of tumult, or indeed, to speak more properly, of almost absolute anarchy, was, however, somewhat composed towards the latter end of the present year, by the election of Domitius Calvinus and Valerius Messala to the consular office. *Dio*, xl. p. 141.

* The disturbances mentioned in the preceding note, were artfully fomented by Cæsar and Pompey, in order to turn them to the advantage of their ambitious purposes. But this was too delicate a circumstance for Cicero to explain himself upon; especially as he was now cultivating a friendship with both.

† The text in the original is evidently defective: *atque in hoc genere hac mea causa est, ut* neque *ea quæ non sentio velim scribere*. The sense is supplied in the translation, in a way that seemed to coincide best with this mutilated sentence.

conceived of your merit. There is, indeed, but one possible method that can enable you to surmount this arduous task. The method I mean is, by diligently cultivating those qualities which are the foundation of a just applause; of that applause, my friend, which I know is the constant object of your warmest ambition. I might add much more to this purpose; but I am sensible you stand not in need of any incitements. And indeed I have thrown out these general hints, far less with a view of inflaming *your* heart, than of testifying the ardency with which I give you *mine*. Farewell.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO MEMMIUS.

I CLAIM the promise you gave me when we met last, and desire you to treat my very intimate and zealous friend Aulus Fusius in the manner you assured me you would. He is a man of letters as well as great politeness; and, indeed, in every view of his character, he is highly deserving your friendship. The civilities you shall shew him will be extremely agreeable to me; as they will, at the same time, for ever attach to your interest a person of a most obliging and friendly disposition. Farewell.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS CURIO.

Public affairs are so circumstanced, that I dare not communicate my sentiments of them in a letter. This, however, I will venture in general to say, that I have reason to congratulate you on your removal from the scene in which we are engaged. But I must add, that in whatever part of the world you might be placed, you would still (as I told you in my last*) be embarked in the same common bottom with your friends here. I have another reason likewise for rejoicing in your absence, as it has placed your merit in full view of so considerable a number of the most illustrious citizens, and allies of Rome; and indeed the reputation you have acquired is universally, and without the least exception, confirmed to us on all hands. But there is one circumstance attending you, upon which I know not whether I ought to send you my congratulations, or not; I mean with respect to those high and singular advantages which the commonwealth promises itself from your return amongst us. Not

* The letter to which Cicero refers is not extant.

that I suspect your proving unequal to the opinion which the world entertains of your virtues; but as fearing that whatever is most worthy of your care will be irrecoverably lost ere your arrival to prevent it; such, alas, is the weak and well-nigh expiring condition of our unhappy republic! But prudence, perhaps, will scarce justify me in trusting even this to a letter; for the rest, therefore, I must refer you to others. In the mean while, whatever your fears or your hopes of public affairs may be, think, my friend, incessantly think on those virtues which that generous patriot must possess, who, in these evil times, and amidst such a general depravation of manners, gloriously purposes to vindicate the ancient dignity and liberties of his oppressed country. Farewell.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

If it were not for the compliments you sent me by Chrysippus, the freedman of Cyrus the architect, I should have imagined I no longer possessed a place in your thoughts. But surely you are become a most intolerable fine gentleman, that you could not bear the fatigue of writing to me; when

you had the opportunity of doing so by a man, whom, you know, I look upon as one almost of my own family. Perhaps, however, you may have forgotten the use of your pen, and so much the better, let me tell you, for your clients; as they will lose no more causes by its blunders. But if it is myself only that has escaped your remembrance, I must endeavour to refresh it by a visit, before I am worn out of your mind beyond all power of recollection. After all, is it not the apprehensions of the next summer's campaign, that has rendered your hand too unsteady to perform its office? If so, you must even play over again the same gallant stratagem you practised last year in relation to your British expedition, and frame some heroic excuse for your absence. However, I was extremely glad to hear, by Chrysippus, that you are much in Cæsar's good graces. But it would be more like a man of *equity*, methinks, as well as more agreeable to my inclinations, if you were to give me frequent notice of what concerns you, by your own hand; a satisfaction I should undoubtedly enjoy, if you had chosen to study the laws of good fellowship, rather than those of contention. You see I rally you as usual, in your own way, not to say a little in mine. But to end seriously; be assured as I greatly love you, I am no less confident than desirous of your affection in return. Farewell.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 700.]

TO PUBLIUS SEXTIUS.*

I HOPE you will not imagine by my long silence, that I have been unmindful of our friendship, or that I had any intention of dropping my usual correspondence with you. The sincere truth is, I was prevented from writing during the former part of our separation, by those calamities in which the

* The commentators are greatly divided as to the time when this letter was written, and the person to whom it is addressed. To examine the several reasons upon which they support their respective opinions, would be leading the English reader into a field of criticism, which could afford him neither amusement nor instruction. The subject, indeed, of this letter, which is merely consolatory, to a friend in exile, is not of consequence enough to merit any pains in ascertaining (if it were possible to ascertain) its precise date; and it is sufficient to observe, that it contains nothing but what perfectly coincides with the circumstances both of Cicero's affairs and those of the republic in the present year. As to the person to whom this letter is written, it is impossible to determine any thing concerning him: for the MSS. and printed copies are by no means agreed as to his name; some calling him *Titius*, others *Sitius*, and others *Sextius*.

general confusion of the times had involved me; as I afterwards delayed it, from an unwillingness to break in upon you, whilst your own severe and unmerited injuries were yet fresh upon your mind. But when I reflect that a sufficient time has elapsed, to wear off the first impressions of your misfortunes, and consider, likewise, the virtues and magnanimity of your heart; I think I may now write to you consistently with my general caution of avoiding an unseasonable officiousness.

You are sensible, my dear Sextius, that I warmly stood forth your advocate, when a prosecution was formerly commenced against you in your absence; as afterwards, when you was involved in that accusation which was brought against your friend, I exerted every means in my power for your defence. Thus, likewise, upon my return into Italy,* though I found your affairs had been managed in a very different manner than I should have advised; yet, I omitted no opportunity of rendering you my utmost services. And, upon this occasion, when the clamour that was raised against you, on account of the corn,† by those that were the enemies, not

* Probably when he returned from exile, in the year 696.

† It was the business of the Ædiles, amongst other parts of their duty, to superintend the markets and public maga-

only of yourself, but of all who endeavoured to assist you; when the general corruption of the judges, and, in short, when many other public iniquities had prevailed to your condemnation against all truth and justice, I was not wanting in my best good offices of every kind towards your son. Having, therefore, thus faithfully performed every other sacred duty of friendship, I would not omit this likewise, of entreating and exhorting you to bear your afflictions as becomes a man of your distinguished spirit and fortitude. In other words, let me conjure you to support with resolution, those common vicissitudes of Fortune, which no prudence can prevent, and for which no mortal is answerable; remembering, that in all popular governments, as well as in our own, it has been the fate of many of the best and greatest men to fall a sacrifice to the injustice of their country. I will add, (and I wish I could, with truth, be contradicted,) that the injurious sentence you lament, has only banished you from a commonwealth in which no rational mind can receive the least satisfaction.

If I were to say nothing of your son, it would look as if I were inattentive to that general ap-

zines of corn. It seems probable, therefore, from this passage, that Sextius was banished for some real, or pretended misconduct in the administration of that office.

plause which his virtues so justly receive; on the other hand, were I to tell you all that I hear and think of him, I am afraid I should only renew your grief for being thus separated from his company. However, you should wisely consider his uncommon virtues as a possession which inseparably attends you, in whatever part of the world you may be placed. For surely the objects of the mind are not less intimately present with us, than those of the eye. The reflection, therefore, on his singular merit and filial piety, the fidelity of myself and the rest of those friends whom you have found, and will ever find, to be the followers, not of your fortune, but of your virtue; and, above all, the consciousness of not having deserved your sufferings, are circumstances which ought to administer the highest consolation to you. And they will more effectually do so, if you consider, that it is guilt, and not misfortune; one's own crimes, and not the injustice of others, which ought to disturb the serenity of a well-regulated mind. In the mean time, be assured, that, in compliance with the dictates of that friendship I have long entertained for you, and of that esteem which I bear for your son, I shall neglect no opportunity, both of alleviating your afflictions, and of contributing all I can to support you under them. In a word, if, upon any occasion, you should think it necessary to write to me, you

shall find that your application was not made in vain. Farewell.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CURIO.

I DISPATCH Sextus Villius, a domestic of my friend Milo, to meet you with this letter, notwithstanding we have received no account of your being yet advanced near Italy. However, we are assured that you are set forward from Asia;* and as it is generally believed, it will not be long ere you arrive in Rome, I persuade myself, that the importance of the affair which occasions you this application, will justify my desire of making it as early as possible.

If I estimated my services towards you by the same enlarged standard that you gratefully measure them by yourself, I should be extremely reserved in requesting any considerable favour at your hands. It is painful, indeed, to a man of a modest and generous mind, to solicit great obligations from those whom he has greatly obliged; lest he should seem to claim the price of his good offices, and ask a

* See p. 233. note.

matter of right rather than of grace. But I can have no scruples of this sort with respect to you; as the services you have conferred upon me, and particularly in my late troubles, are not only of the highest, but most conspicuous nature. An ingenuous disposition, where it already owes much, is willing to owe more; and it is upon this principle, that I make no difficulty of requesting your assistance in an article of the last importance to me. I have no reason, indeed, to fear, that I should sink under the weight of your favours, even if they were to rise beyond all number; as I trust there is none so considerable that I should not only receive with gratitude, but return with advantage.

I am exerting the utmost efforts of my care, my industry, and my talents, in order to secure the election of Milo to the consulate; and I think myself bound, upon this occasion, to give a proof to the world, of the more than common affection with which I enter into his interest. I am persuaded, no man ever was so anxious for the preservation of his own person and fortunes, as I am, that Milo may obtain this honour; an event upon which the security of my own dignities, I am sensible, depends. Now, the assistance which it is in your power to give my friend, is so very considerable, that it is all we want to be assured of victory; for thus our forces stand. In the first place, Milo's

conduct towards me in his tribunate,* has gained him (as I hope you perfectly well know) the affections of all our patriots; as the liberality of his temper, and the magnificence of his shows, have secured to him the favour of the populace.† In the next place, all the young part of the republic, together with those who have the most influence in elections, are wholly in his interest, as having received, or expecting to receive, the benefit of his own popularity and active offices upon occasions of a like nature. I will add, likewise, that he has my suffrage; which, though it may not draw after it any considerable effects, is, however, universally approved as a tribute which is justly his due; and so far, perhaps, it may be considered as of some weight with the public. All, therefore, that we farther require, is a person to appear as the leader of these our rude forces, and to unite them together

* Milo was tribune in the year of Rome 696; at which time he conferred very singular obligations on Cicero, by most zealously exerting all his power and credit in promoting his recal from exile. *Orat. pro Milon.*

† Milo had dissipated three very considerable estates in the extravagant shows which, upon different occasions, he had exhibited to the people; as he was likewise at this time proposing to entertain them in the same magnificent manner, at the expence of 250,000l. *Orat. pro Milon.* 25. *Ad Q. F.* iii. 9.

under one head; and had we the choice of the whole world, we could not fix upon a man so well qualified for this purpose as yourself. If you believe then, that I have any worth or gratitude, or can even infer it from these my earnest endeavours to serve Milo; in a word, if you esteem me deserving of your favours, I entreat you to co-operate with me in this affair, upon which my character (or to come still nearer to the truth) upon which almost my very preservation depends.* With regard to Milo himself, I will only assure you, that

* Cicero was particularly concerned to secure Milo's election, not only from a principle of gratitude, but of self-preservation. For Clodius, our author's implacable enemy, was now soliciting the office of prætor; and if Milo were rejected from the consulship, it would fall into the hands of Plautus Hypsæus and Metellus Scipio, who were both under the influence of Clodius. By these means, the latter would once again have been armed with the principal authority of the commonwealth; and Cicero knew, by sad and recent experience, that he had every thing to fear from such an enemy, when he could add power to malice. His interest, therefore, conspired with his friendship in supporting the pretensions of Milo, who had, upon all occasions, opposed the designs of Clodius with great warmth and spirit; and who, in the present instance, would have proved a counterbalance, if Clodius should have attempted a second time to fall with his whole weight upon Cicero. *Vid. Orat. pro Milon. passim.*

you never can oblige a man of a more solid turn of mind, of a more resolute spirit, or one who, if you should embrace his interest, will receive your good offices with a more affectionate gratitude. You will at the same time also confer so singular an honour upon myself, as to convince me, that you have no less regard for the support of my credit, than you formerly shewed for the safety of my person. I should enlarge much farther upon this subject, if I were not persuaded that you are perfectly sensible of the infinite obligations I have received from Milo; and that it is incumbent upon me to promote his election with my utmost zeal, and even at the hazard of my life.* I will only then, in one word, recommend this affair, and therein the most important of my concerns, to your favour and protection; and be assured, I shall esteem your compliance with my request as an obligation superior, I had almost said, even to that for which

* In this declining state of the republic, the elections were carried on, not only by the most shameful and avowed bribery, but by the several mobs of the respective candidates. These, it may well be imagined, were both disposed and prepared to commit every outrage, that the cause of their leaders should require. Accordingly, the party of Milo, and that of his competitors, had such frequent and bloody engagements with each other, as to raise a general apprehension of a civil war. *Plut. in vit. Caton.*

I am so greatly indebted to Milo. The truth of it is, it would give me more pleasure to make him an effectual return for the very considerable part he bore in my restoration, than I received even from the benefit of his good offices themselves. And this, I am confident, your single concurrence will fully enable me to perform.* Farewell.

* Soon after this letter was written, an unfortunate adventure disconcerted all Cicero's measures in behalf of his friend, and obliged him, instead of soliciting any longer for Milo as a candidate, to defend him as a criminal. It happened that Milo and Clodius having met, as they were travelling the Appian road, a rencounter ensued, in which the latter was killed. Milo was arraigned for this murder; and being convicted, was sentenced to banishment. Cicero, in his defence, laboured to prove, by a variety of circumstances, that this meeting could not have been premeditated on the part of his client; and, indeed, it seems probable that it was not. But however casual that particular incident might have been, Milo, it is certain, had long before determined to assassinate Clodius; and it appears too, that Cicero himself was apprised of the design. This is evident from a letter to Atticus, written about four years antecedent to the fact of which I am speaking. *Reum Publium*, says Cicero, *(nisi ante occisus erit) fore a Milone puto. Si se inter viam obtulerit, occisum iri ab ipso Milone video. Non dubitat facere; præ se fert.* Dio, xl. p. 143, 146. Orat. pro Milon. ad Att. iv. 3.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TITUS FADIUS.*

I KNOW not any event which has lately happened, that more sensibly affects me than your disgrace. Far, therefore, from being capable of giving you the consolation I wish, I greatly stand in need of the same good office myself. Nevertheless, I cannot forbear, not only to exhort, but to conjure you likewise by our friendship, to collect your whole strength of reason, in order to support your afflictions with a firm and manly fortitude. Remember, my friend, that calamities are incident to all mankind, but particularly to us who live in these miserable and distracted times. Let it be your consolation, however, to reflect, that you have lost far less

* It is altogether uncertain to whom this letter is addressed; as there is great variety in the several readings of its inscription. If the title adopted in the translation be the true one, (and it is that which has the greatest number of commentators on its side,) the person to whom it is written was quæstor to Cicero in his consulate; and afterwards one of those tribunes, who, in the year of Rome 696, promoted the law by which he was restored to his country. *Vid. Ad Att.* iii. 23.

by fortune, than you have acquired by merit; as there are few under the circumstances of your birth, who ever raised themselves to the same dignities; though there are numbers of the highest quality who have sunk into the same disgrace. To say truth, so wretched is the fate which threatens our laws, our liberties, and our constitution in general, that well may he esteem himself happily dealt with, who is dismissed from such a distempered government upon the least injurious terms. As to your own case, in particular, when you reflect, that you are still undeprived of your estate; that you are happy in the affections of your children, your family, and your friends; and that, in all probability, you are only separated from them for a short interval; when you reflect, that among the great number of impeachments which have lately been carried on,* yours is the only one that was considered as entirely groundless; that you were condemn-

* The circumstance here mentioned renders it probable that the letter before us was written in the present year. For Pompey being at this time appointed sole consul, made several salutary regulations with respect to the method of trials, and encouraged prosecutions against those who had been guilty of illegal practices in order to secure their elections. Accordingly, many persons of the first rank in Rome were arraigned and convicted; and Fadius seems to have been one of that number. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. et Caton.*

ed by a majority only of one single vote; and that, too, universally supposed to have been given in compliance with some powerful influence. These, undoubtedly, are considerations which ought greatly to alleviate the weight of your misfortune. I will only add, that you may always depend upon finding in me that disposition both towards yourself and your family, as is agreeable to your wishes, as well as to what you have a right to expect. Farewell.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TITUS TITIUS. *

IT is by no means as suspecting that my former recommendation was not sufficient, that I give you this second trouble, but merely in compliance with the request of my friend Avianus Flaccus; to whom I neither can, nor indeed ought, to refuse any thing. The truth is, notwithstanding your very obliging answer, when I mentioned his affair to you in person, and that I have already written to you in

* The person to whom this letter is inscribed, is wholly unknown; and the occasion upon which it was written is not of importance enough to deserve any animadversions.

strong terms upon the same subject, yet he imagines I cannot too often apply to you in his behalf. I hope, therefore, you will excuse me, if, in thus yielding to his inclinations, I should seem to forget that you are incapable of receding from your word; and again entreat you to allow him a convenient port and sufficient time for the exportation of his corn. Both these favours I obtained for him, when Pompey had the commission in which you are now employed; and the term he granted him was three years. To say all in one word, you will very sensibly oblige me by convincing Avianus, that I enjoy the same share in your affection, which he justly imagines he possesses of mine. Farewell.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

I ACQUAINTED you with the affair of Silius. He has since been with me; when I informed him that it was your opinion we might safely enter into the usual recognizance. But he has consulted, he tells me, with Servius, who assures him, that, where a testator has no power to make a will, it must be considered, to all intents and purposes, as if it had

never subsisted; and Offilius, it seems, agrees in this opinion. He told me, at the same time, that he had not applied to you upon this subject; but desired I would recommend both himself and his cause to your protection. I do not know a worthier man than Silius, nor any one, excepting yourself, who is more my friend. You will extremely oblige me, therefore, my dear Trebatius, by calling upon him, in order to give him the promise of your assistance; and I earnestly entreat you, if you have any regard for me, to pay this visit as soon as possible. Farewell.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 700.]

TO MARCUS MARIUS.

I SHALL punctually execute your commission: but is it not a most wonderful specimen of your sagacity, thus to employ a man in making a purchase for you, whose interest it is to advance the price as high as possible? Above all, I most admire the wisdom of your restriction, in confining me to a particular sum. For, had you trusted me with an unlimited order, I should have thought myself obliged, in point of friendship, to have settled this affair with my coheirs upon the most advanta-

geous terms in your behalf; whereas, now I know your price, you may depend upon it, I shall rather set up a fictitious bidder, than suffer the estate to be sold for less than the money you mention; but, jesting apart, be assured I shall discharge the commission you have assigned me with all the care I ought.

I know you are well pleased with my victory over Bursa;* but why, then, did you not more

* Minutius Plancus Bursa was tribune the year before this letter was written, and had distinguished himself by inflaming those disturbances in Rome, which were occasioned by the assassination of Clodius. The body of Clodius being produced before the people in the Forum, Bursa, together with one of his colleagues, infused such a spirit of riot into the populace, that, snatching up the corpse, they instantly conveyed it to the *curia hostilia*; (a place in which the senate sometimes assembled,) where they paid it the funeral honours. This they executed in the most insolent and tumultuous manner, by erecting a funeral pile with the benches, and setting fire to the senate-house itself. Bursa, not satisfied with these licentious outrages, endeavoured likewise to instigate the mob to fall upon Cicero, the avowed friend and advocate of Milo, by whom Clodius had been killed. Cicero, therefore, as soon as Bursa was out of his office, (for no magistrate could be impeached during his ministry,) exhibited an information against him, for this violation of the public peace; and Bursa, being found guilty, was sentenced to suffer banishment.—*Dio*, xl. p. 143, 146. *Ascon. argument. in Orat. pro Milon.*

warmly congratulate me upon the occasion? You were mistaken in imagining the character of the man to be much too despicable to render this event a matter of any great exultation. On the contrary, the defeat of Bursa has afforded me a more pleasing triumph, even than the fall of Clodius. Much rather, indeed, would I see my adversaries vanquished by the hand of justice, than of violence; as I would choose it should be in a way that does honour to the friends of my cause, without exposing them, at the same time, to any uneasy consequences. But the principal satisfaction I derive from this affair, is in that honest and undaunted zeal with which I was supported against all the incredible efforts of a very great man,* who most warmly exerted his power in favour of my antagonist. I will mention another circumstance, likewise, that recommends this victory to me, and which, though perhaps you will scarcely think it a probable one, is, nevertheless, most assuredly the case; I have conceived a much stronger aversion to this man, than I ever entertained even against Clodius himself. To speak truth, I had openly declared war against the latter; whereas I have been the advocate and protector of the former. Besides, there was something enlarged, at least, in the

* Pompey. *Vid. Dio*, p. 146.

views of Clodius, as he aimed, by my destruction, at overturning the whole commonwealth; and even in this he acted less from the motions of his own breast, than by the instigations of a party, who were sensible they could never be secure whilst I had any remaining credit. But the contemptible Bursa, on the contrary, singled me out for the object of his malice, in mere gaiety of heart; and, without the least provocation, offered himself to some of my enemies as one who was entirely at their service upon any occasion wherein they could employ him to my prejudice. Upon these considerations, my friend, I expect that you warmly congratulate my success, as, indeed, I esteem it an event of very considerable importance. Never, in truth, did Rome produce a set of more inflexible patriots than the judges who presided at this trial; for they had the honest courage to pass sentence against him, in opposition to all the power and influence of the very person by whom they were appointed* to this honourable office. And, undoubtedly, they would not have acted with such uncom-

* Pompey, in his late consulship, made some alterations with respect to the method of chusing the judges, and elected a certain number out of the three orders of the state, for the cognizance of civil and criminal causes.—*Manut. de leg.* p. 122. *Vel. Paterc.* ii. 76.

mon spirit, had they not considered the insults I suffered from this man, as so many indignities offered to themselves.

I have, at present, a great deal of troublesome business upon my hands; as several considerable impeachments are going forward, and many new laws are in agitation. It is my daily wish, therefore, that no intercalation* may protract these affairs beyond the usual period, and prevent the pleasure I propose to myself, of paying you a visit very soon. Farewell.

* The Roman months being lunar, a proper number of supplemental days were added every two years, in order to adjust their reckoning to the course of the sun. This was called an *intercalation*; and was performed by the pontifical college at their own discretion. Accordingly, they often exercised this important trust as interest or ambition dictated; and, by their arbitrary intercalations, either advanced or retarded the stated times for transacting civil or religious affairs, as best suited the private purposes of themselves or their friends. By these means, those unworthy observers of the heavenly motions had introduced so great a confusion into their calendar, that, when Cæsar undertook its reformation, all the seasons were misplaced; and the appointed festivals for harvest and vintage were no longer found in the summer and autumn quarters.—*Suet. in Jul.* 40. *Macrob. Saturn*, 1.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

You laughed at me yesterday, when I asserted, over our wine, that it was a question among the lawyers, whether an action of theft could be brought by an heir for goods stolen before he came into possession. Though it was late when I returned home, and I had drunk pretty freely, I turned to the place where this question is discussed, and have sent you an extract of the passage; in order to convince you, that a point, which you imagined had never been maintained by any man, was actually holden by Sextus Ælius, Marcus Manlius, and Marcus Brutus.* But, notwithstanding these great names, I agree in opinion with Scævola and Trebatius.† Farewell.

* These were all of them lawyers of great note in their respective generations, and whose writings in the science they professed, were in much esteem. The two former flourished about the year of Rome 545, and 600; the latter about the year 630.—*Pompon. de orig. Juris.*

† Scævola was one of the names of Trebatius, as appears by a letter to Atticus, wherein he is so called. There was, likewise, a Quintus Mucius Scævola, a lawyer of very

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

I FIND myself obliged, contrary indeed to my expectation, as well as my wishes, to accept the government of your province.* Amidst the number-

considerable eminence, who lived about fifty years before the present date, and who compiled a body of laws in eighteen volumes. Manutius imagines, therefore, that, in allusion to this person, Cicero jocularly separates the names *Scævola* and *Trebatius* by an intervening copulative, as if he were speaking of two different men, though he only means his friend to whom he is writing.

* The great commotions that had been raised the last year in Rome, on account of the elections, have already been mentioned in the notes above. In order, therefore, to remedy these evils for the future, by abating the intemperate ardour with which the magistracies were pursued, it was thought expedient to deprive the prætorship and consulate of one of their principal and most tempting advantages. This consisted in the government of provinces; to which those magistrates of course succeeded at the expiration of their respective administrations. For these governments not only secured them from any impeachments during the time they continued in them, but were likewise inexhaustible sources of wealth to those who were not scrupulous in the means of obtaining it. Accordingly, a law

less uneasy thoughts and occupations which this circumstance occasions me, it is my single consolation, that I could not have succeeded any man in this employment who would be more disposed than yourself to deliver it up to me as little embarrassed as possible. I hope you entertain the same opinion of my disposition with regard to you; and be assured I shall never disappoint you in this expectation. I most earnestly then entreat you, by all the ties of our friendship in particular, as well as by that uncommon generosity which distinguishes your actions in general, to render me, upon this occasion, every good office in your power; as undoubtedly there are many.

You will observe, from the decree of the senate, that I was under a necessity of accepting the government of some province; and I must repeat it once more, the ease with which I shall pass through the functions of my ministry, depends upon your

passed, by which it was enacted, that no future prætor or consul should be capable of a provincial charge, till five years after the expiration of his office; and, in the mean time, that the provinces should be supplied from among those of prætorian and consular rank, who had laid down their offices without succeeding to any government. Cicero was of this number; and it is probable there were so few of them, that he was not at liberty to refuse, what it is very certain he had no inclination to accept.—*Dio*, xl. p. 142.

smoothing, as far as in you lies, the difficulties at my first entrance. You are the best judge in what particular instances you can contribute to this end; I will only, in general, beseech you, to do so in every article wherein you imagine your services may avail me. I might enlarge on this subject, if either your own generous temper, or our mutual friendship, would suffer me to dwell upon it any longer; and I may add, too, if the nature of my request did not sufficiently speak for itself. I will only, therefore, assure you, that if I should not make this application in vain, you may depend upon receiving a strong and lasting satisfaction from the faithful returns of my gratitude. Farewell.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 700.]

TO THE SAME.

I ARRIVED on the 22d of May at Brundisium, where I found your lieutenant* Quintus Fabius;

* Every proconsul, or governor of a province, was accompanied with a certain number of lieutenants, in proportion to his rank and quality. These officers served him as a kind of first ministers in civil affairs; and they commanded in chief under him when he took the field.

who, agreeably to your orders, informed me, that it is highly expedient Cilicia should be strengthened with an additional number of forces. This was conformable, not only to my own sentiments, who am more immediately concerned in the security of that province, but to the opinion likewise of the senate; who thought it reasonable, that both Bibulus* and myself should reinforce our respective legions with recruits from Italy. But it was strongly opposed by Sulpicius† the consul; though not without very warm remonstrances on our parts. However, as it seemed to be the general inclination of the senate, that we should hasten our departure, we were obliged to submit; and we set forward accordingly.

Let me now repeat the request I made in my last from Rome, and again entreat you to favour me in all those instances wherein one friend can oblige another who succeeds to his government. In short, let it be *your* care to convince the world, that I could

* Some account has already been given of Bibulus in the notes on the preceding book.—See p. 174. He was appointed governor of Syria, a province bordering on that of Cilicia; to which Cicero was on his way when he wrote the present letter, and all the subsequent ones in this Book.

† Servius Sulpicius Rufus was consul this year, together with Marcus Claudius Marcellus. For a more parti-

not have followed a more affectionate predecessor; as it shall be *mine* to give conspicuous proofs, that you could not have resigned your province to one more sincerely devoted to your interest.

I understood by the copy, which you communicated to me of those dispatches you sent to the senate, that you had actually disbanded a considerable part of your army. But Fabius assures me, this was a point which you only had in your intention; and that when he left you, the whole number of your legions was complete. If this be the case, you will greatly oblige me by keeping the few forces under your command entire; as I suppose the decree of the senate, which passed in relation to this article, has already been transmitted to you. To comprise all in one word, I pay so great a deference to your judgment, that whatever measures you may think proper to pursue, I shall, undoubtedly, believe them reasonable; though I am persuaded, at the same time, you will pursue such only as shall appear to be for my benefit.

I am waiting at Brundisium for my lieutenant Caius Pontinius, whom I expect here on the first of June; and I shall take the earliest opportunity, af-

cular account of the former, see Let. 12. of Book vii.; and of the latter, Let. 35. of this Book.

ter his arrival, of proceeding on my voyage. Farewell.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 702.]

Cœlius* to Cicero.

Agreeably to my promise when we parted, I have sent you a full account of every event that

* Manutius has, with great industry, drawn together the several scattered passages in the ancient historians, relating to Cœlius; and it is but a piece of justice due to that learned critic to acknowledge, that the following account is extracted from those materials, which his labours spared me the trouble of collecting.

Marcus Cœlius was tribune of the people the year before this letter was written. He distinguished himself in that office, by zealously and boldly supporting the claims of the senate, and the interest of the aristocratical party, against the attacks of the opposite faction. When the civil war broke out between Pompey and Cæsar, he affected at first to stand neuter; he afterwards, however, thought proper to join with the latter. But Cæsar not gratifying his ambition in the manner he expected, he changed sides, and raised great disturbances in Rome in favour of Pompey.

Cœlius applied himself early to the art of oratory; and, for that purpose, was introduced by his father to the acquaintance of Cicero, under whose direction he formed his eloquence. His parts and genius soon distinguished him in

has happened since you left Rome. For this purpose, I employed a person to collect the news of the town; and am only afraid, you will think he has executed his office much too punctually. I am sensible, at the same time, that you are a man of infinite curiosity; and that travellers take pleasure in being informed of every little circumstance transacted at home. But I hope you will not impute it to any want of respect, that I assigned over this employment to another hand. On the contrary, as much engaged as I really am, and as little fond of writing as you know me to be, I should, with great pleasure, execute my commission, which gave me occasion to think of you. I trust, however, when you cast your eye upon this volume of news, you will very readily admit my excuse; as I know not, indeed, who else, except the compiler, could find leisure, I will not say to transcribe, but even to pe-

the forum; but though his speeches were conceived with peculiar spirit and vivacity, his language was thought forced, and the harmony of his periods too much neglected. His morals were suitable to the degenerate age in which he lived; luxurious and dissolute; as his temper was remarkably inflammable, and apt to kindle into the most implacable resentments. *Cic. orat. pro Cœlio. Cæs. Bel. Civ.* iii. *Vel. Paterc.* ii. *Dialog. de caus. corrupt. eloquent. Seneca. de Ira.* iii. See Let. 18. of Book vii.

ruse, such a strange medley. It contains a collection of decrees of the senate and rumours of the people; of private tales and public edicts. Should it happen, nevertheless, to afford you no sort of entertainment, give me due notice, that I may not put myself to this *prodigious* expence only to be impertinent. If any events of more importance should arise, and which are above the force of these hackney news-writers, I will take the relation upon myself, and give you a full account of the sentiments and speculations of the world concerning it; but, at present, there is little of this kind stirring.

As to the report, which was so current when we were at Cumæ,* of enfranchising the colonies on the other side the Po,† it does not seem to have

* A city in Campania, situated upon the sea coast; near which Cicero had a villa.

† Cisalpine Gaul was divided into two parts by the river Po; and accordingly as the inhabitants were situated with respect to Italy, either on one side or the other of that river, they were called *Cispadani*, or *Transpadani*. Cæsar had a scheme of putting the latter on the same footing with the municipal towns of Italy; the chief magistrates whereof had a right of suffrage in the assemblies of the Roman people, and were capable of being elected to the offices of the republic. This seems to be the circumstance to which Cœlius here alludes; as Cicero obscurely hints at it likewise in one of his letters to Atticus.—See *Ad Att.* v. 2. and the remark of Mongault upon that passage.

travelled beyond that city; at least, I have heard no mention of this affair since my return to Rome. Marcellus not having yet moved that Cæsar may be recalled from his government in Gaul, and intending to defer it, as he told me himself, to the first of June, it has occasioned the revival of those suspicions to his disadvantage, which so strongly prevailed when you were here.*

If you had an interview with Pompey, † (as I remember it was your intention,) let me know the conversation that passed between you, and what you could discover of his designs; for though he seldom speaks his real sentiments, he has not artifice enough to conceal them. ‡ As to Cæsar, we have frequent, and no very favourable, reports con-

* Marcellus, the present consul, distinguished himself throughout his whole administration by a warm opposition to Cæsar; as he afterwards actually made the motion, of which Cœlius here speaks. He was not, however, so fortunate as to succeed in it; being opposed by his colleague Sulpicius in conjunction with some of the tribunes.—*Dio*, xli. p. 148. See his character in Let. 35. of this Book.

† Pompey was at this time at Tarentum, a maritime city of Calabria; where Cicero spent a few days with him in his way to Cilicia, while he waited the arrival of his lieutenant Pontinius.—*Ad Att.* v. 6.

‡ Cicero, in his letters to Atticus, often mentions the difficulty of penetrating into Pompey's real designs; but if Cœlius may be credited, he was, it seems, one of those

cerning him; however, they are at present nothing more than rumours. Some say he has lost all his cavalry; and I believe this is the truth of the case: others, that the seventh legion has been entirely defeated, and that he himself is surrounded by the Bellovaci,* that he cannot possibly receive any succours from the main body of his army. But this news is not publicly known; on the contrary, it is only the whisper of a party, which I need not name, and who mention it with great caution; particularly Domitius,† who tells it in your ear with a most important air of secrecy.

A strong report prevailed here, that you were assassinated upon the road on the 24th of May, by Quintus Pompeius. ‡ I heartily cursed the idle au-

over-refined dissemblers, who, as our British Horace observes, are

——— So very close, they're hid from none.

POPE.

* A most martial and powerful people in Belgic Gaul, against whom Cæsar was at this time making war.

† Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus, one of Cæsar's avowed enemies. A particular account will be given of him in the notes on the letter addressed to him in this collection.

‡ Quintus Pompeius Rufus was tribune the last year, and a principal author of those disturbances which ensued upon the death of Clodius.—See p. 278. note. At the expiration of his office, therefore, being convicted of these misdemeanors, he was banished from Rome.—*Dio*, xl. p. 146.

thors of this alarm; however, it did not give me any great disturbance, as I knew Pompeius to be then at Baulis,* where the poor man is reduced to exercise the miserable office of a pilot, to keep himself from starving. May you ever be as secure from all other dangers, as you were from this!

Your friend† Plancus is at Ravenna; and, notwithstanding the very considerable benefaction he has lately received from Cæsar,‡ the man is still in distress.

Your political treatise§ is universally read, and much admired. Farewell.

* A city in Campania.

† Munatius Plancus Bursa; of whom an account has been given in p. 278. note. Cœlius speaks ironically, when he calls him Cicero's friend.

‡ See p. 177. note.

§ "It was drawn up in the form of a dialogue, in which "the greatest persons of the republic were introduced. "From the fragments of this work which still remain, it "appears to have been a noble performance, and one of "his capital pieces, where all the important questions in "politics and morality were discussed with the greatest "elegance and accuracy."—*Mid. Life of Cic.* vol. ii. p. 94. 8vo edit.

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 702.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

I RECEIVED your letter at this place* on the 4th of June, by which I am informed that you have charged Lucius Clodius with a message to me. I am therefore waiting for his arrival, that I may hear, as early as possible, whatever he has to say on your part. In the mean time, notwithstanding I have already, by many instances, convinced you, I hope, of my friendship, yet, let me assure you, that I shall particularly endeavour to shew it upon every occasion, by the most tender regard for your character. I have the satisfaction, in return, to be informed, not only by Fabius and Flaccus, but particularly by Octavius, of the share you allow me in your esteem. I had before, indeed, many reasons for believing I enjoyed that privilege; but chiefly

* Brundisium. This letter was written but a few days after the last addressed to Appius, which is likewise dated from this place; where Cicero continued about a fortnight. He was prevented from embarking sooner, not only as he waited the arrival of his lieutenant Pontinius, but also by a slight indisposition.—*Ad Att.* v. 8.

by that very agreeable present of your treatise upon augury, which you have so affectionately addressed to me.* No testimony shall be wanting on my part, likewise, of the singular friendship I bear you. The truth is, you have continually risen in my affection ever since you first distinguished me with yours; but you are now still more endeared to me, from that regard I entertain for those illustrious persons with whom you have formed a family alliance.† For Pompey and Brutus, though so distant from each other in point of age, have both of them the same high rank in my esteem. I must add, that the connexion between us as fellow-members of the same sacred college,‡ especially

* This treatise was drawn up in vindication of the augural science, or the art of foretelling events, from certain signs which Providence was supposed to have intended as intimations of futurity. This science was generally exploded by the wiser part of their philosophers, as having no foundation in reason or experience; but Appius was so weakly credulous, it seems, as seriously to believe and maintain the contrary.—See *Life of Cic.* v. iii. p. 348. 8vo edit.

† See p. 240. note.

‡ The college of Augurs, of which Cicero and Appius were members, consisted at this time of fifteen *Fellows*, (if that term may be allowed,) who were all of them persons of the first distinction in Rome. Their office was to determine, whether the omens, which were always consulted

after the honourable applause I have lately received from you,* is a very powerful cement of our mutual friendship.

If I should have an interview with Clodius, whom I shall endeavour to see as soon as possible, I shall have occasion to write to you more fully. I will, at this time, therefore, only farther assure you, that I read with great pleasure, that part of your letter where you tell me, your single reason for continuing in the province is in order to give me a meeting. Farewell.

previously to the transacting of any public business, were favourable for that purpose, or observed in a proper manner. This gave them a very considerable authority in the commonwealth; as it was in their power to obstruct the most important affairs of the state, by declaring that they were unwarranted by the auspices. Cicero, about two years before the date of the present letter, was elected into this college in the place of young Crassus; who perished (as has already been observed) in the unfortunate expedition which his father undertook against the Parthians.

* This alludes to the treatise mentioned above, which Appius inscribed to Cicero.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO CAIUS MEMMIUS.*

I AM doubtful whether I have more reason to regret or rejoice, that I did not find you, as I expect-

* The family of Caius Memmius was esteemed one of the most ancient in all Rome; being descended, it was said, from Mnestheus, a companion of Æneas in his expedition into Italy. Memmius, having passed through the offices of tribune and prætor, offered himself as a candidate for the consulship, in the year of Rome 699; and the iniquitous engagement into which he entered, in order to secure his election, affords a very remarkable specimen, not only of his own character, but of the unparalleled degeneracy of the age in which he lived. The consuls of that year were Domitius Ænobarbus and Appius Pulcher, the person to whom the preceding letter, and several others in this Book, are addressed. It was stipulated between these worthy magistrates, and the two associates, who were joint-candidates to succeed them, that they should mutually assist each other in their respective views. On the part of the consuls, it was agreed, that they should promote the election of Memmius and his friend Calvinus, with all their credit and power. These, in return, entered into a bond, in the penalty of somewhat more than 3000l.; by which they obliged themselves to procure three Augurs, who should attest, that they were present in the Comitia, when a law passed to invest

ed, in Athens.* On the one hand, if that meeting would have renewed my concern for the injus-

these consuls with the military command in their provinces. The contract farther added, that they would also produce three persons of consular rank, who should likewise depose, that they were not only present in the senate, but actually in the number of those who signed a decree, by which the usual proconsular appointments were granted to Appius and Ænobarbus. The truth, however, was, that, so far from any law or decree of this nature ever having passed, it had not even been *proposed* either to the people or the senate.—*En*

Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam!

Extraordinary as this infamous association was, it is still more surprising that Memmius should have had the front publicly to avow it, by becoming himself the informer of the whole transaction. Yet so the fact is; and, in compliance with the persuasions of Pompey, he laid open the whole of this shameful agreement to the senate. It is difficult to imagine the motive that could induce Memmius to make a discovery, which must shew him to the world, in every view, so completely abandoned. But Pompey, it is highly probable, instigated him to this resolution, with the hope that the rendering public so unexampled a violation of all that ought to be held most sacred in society, would add strength to those flames which now raged in the commonwealth. For most of the historians agree, that Pompey secretly fomented the present tumults, in order to reduce the republic to the necessity of investing him with the supreme authority. What resolutions were taken in the

tice which has been done you; I should have had the satisfaction, on the other, of being a witness of your supporting it with the most philosophical

senate, upon this occasion, do not clearly appear; for those passages in the letters to Atticus, wherein their proceedings in relation to this affair seem to be hinted at, are extremely dark; and rendered still more obscure by the negligence of the transcribers, in blending epistles together of different and distant dates. It is certain, however, that Memmius lost his election; some time after which, being impeached, and sentenced to banishment, he retired to Athens; where he seems to have spent the remainder of his days. He was a man of greater parts than application, and would have proved an excellent orator, if he had trusted less to the strength of his natural genius; or rather, indeed, if he had not been too indolent to improve his faculties of this kind by an habitual exercise. He was not too lazy, however, to employ them with the ladies; in which he was extremely successful; particularly with the wife of Marcus Lucullus, brother to the celebrated Lucius Lucullus, so well known to every reader of the Roman story. He seems, in truth, to have been one of that sort of men, who, in the language of Shakespeare, is *formed to make woman false*; at least if a poet may be supposed no flatterer in the picture he draws of his patron. For Lucretius, who inscribed his poem to Memmius, represents Venus, in his invocation to that goddess, as having bestowed upon this her favourite, every charm that could render him the most graceful and accomplished of the sons of men:

Te sociam studeo scribundis versibus esse,
Quos ego de Rerum Natura pangere conor

magnanimity.† Upon the whole, however, I cannot but lament, that I did not see you; for the uneasi-

Memmiadæ nostro: quam tu, Dea, tempore in omne
Omnibus ornatum voluisti excellere rebus.

Thy aid, celestial queen of beauty, bring,
While nature's laws in vent'rous verse I sing;
To Memmius sing: the man by thee designed,
With every grace and every art refined,
To shine the first and fairest of his kind.

Gifanii prolegom. in Lucret. de gent. Memmia. Ad Att. iv. 18. *Suet. in Aug.* 40. *Virgil. Æn.* i. 286. *De clar. orat.* 70. *Ad Att.* i. 18. *Lucret.* i. 25.

* Cicero took Athens in his way to Cilicia; and Memmius left that city the day before his arrival. Manutius supposes that he withdrew on purpose to avoid our author, with whom, he imagines, Memmius was disgusted for not having given him his assistance at his trial. But this is merely conjecture; and has so much the less foundation, as there is not the least hint of this kind in the letter to Atticus, wherein Cicero acquaints him with the circumstance of his not meeting with Memmius.—*Ad. Att.* v. 10.

† It is by no means certain upon what occasion Memmius was banished. The principal commentators, indeed, are of opinion, that it was in consequence of a prosecution that was commenced against him for those corrupt practices mentioned in the first note on this letter. But it seems to appear from Cicero's epistles to his brother, either that Memmius and his associates were all acquitted of that impeachment, or that their several prosecutions were dropped. *Vid. ad. Q. F.* iii. 2. 3. 8.

ness I feel at your unmerited sufferings is too great to have admitted of much increase by that interview; and, in all other respects, it would have added very considerably to my pleasure. It is a pleasure, therefore, in which I shall, without scruple, indulge myself, the first convenient opportunity. In the mean time, so much of the purpose of my intended visit as may be explained, and, I should hope, settled too, in a letter, I will now lay before you. The favour I am going to request, though of little consequence to you, is of much importance to me; however, ere I enter upon the subject, let me previously assure you, that I do not desire you to comply with my inclinations any farther than it shall be agreeable to your own. I must inform you then, in the first place, that I am most intimately united with Patro, the Epicurean; in every article, I mean, except his philosophy; for there, indeed, we are at a great distance. I received the first marks of his esteem, so long ago as when he distinguished himself at Rome by his singular attachment to you and your family; and in the cause which he lately gained in our courts, I was a principal advocate both for him and his associates. I must add, that he was recommended to me by my very worthy friend* Phædrus; a man whom, long

* Phædrus, it is supposed, was the predecessor of Patro in the Epicurean college.

before I became acquainted with Philo,† and, indeed, from my childhood, I always highly valued. The first quality that recommended him to my esteem, was his philosophical abilities; as I afterwards had reason to admire him for his moral and social virtues. Before I left Rome, I received a letter from Patro, requesting me, in the first place, to intercede with you to be reconciled to him; and in the next, that you would make him a grant of an old ruinous edifice, which belongs, it seems, to the college of Epicurus.‡ I forbore writing to you, however, upon this subject, as being unwilling to interrupt you in the design, which I then thought you entertained, of building upon that spot. But I now comply with his solicitation, as he has assured me, since my arrival in Athens, that it is the general opinion of your friends, that you have totally laid aside this scheme. Should this prove to be the real case, and your particular interest should

† Cicero, in another part of his writings, mentions an Academic philosopher of this name, whose lectures he attended. If the same person be meant in both places, as indeed is highly probable, Mr Ross is undoubtedly right in charging the learned Manutius with a mistake, in imagining Philo to have been an Epicurean, and predecessor to Phædrus.

‡ Memmius had obtained a grant of this edifice from the Athenians, in order to build a house for his own use.

no longer interfere, let me prevail with you to grant his petition. And if you should have taken any little prejudice against my friend, by the ill offices of his countrymen, (whose capricious tempers I am well acquainted with,) I entreat you to renounce your resentment, not only for my sake, but in compliance also with the suggestions of your own generous nature. Shall I freely own to you my real sentiments? To confess the truth then, there does not appear any just reason either for his being so earnest in pressing this affair of the edifice, or for your persisting in your refusal. This, at least, is most evident, that it is much more suitable to a man of his character, than of yours, to be obstinate in trifles. You are well apprised, I know, of the plea which Patro alleges, to justify his warmth upon this occasion. I need not mention, therefore, that he urges the honour and reverence which is due to the last injunctions of Epicurus;* the particular regard he owes to the earnest request of Phædrus; together with that veneration which ought to be paid to a mansion impressed with the foot-

* "Diogenes Laertius hath preserved, in his life of Epi-
"curus, the will of that great philosopher. In the first
"article, the schools and gardens, and every thing belong-
"ing to them, are entailed upon his successors in that sect
"of philosophy, which should be called after his name."
Mr Ross.

steps of so many celebrated philosophers. One cannot, indeed, condemn his zeal in this instance, without deriding, at the same time, the whole system of his philosophy. But neither you nor I are such enemies to those of his sect, as not to be inclined to pardon an enthusiasm of this sort; especially as it is a prejudice (if it be a prejudice) that arises from the weakness, not the wickedness, of his heart. But I must not forget to mention another inducement, which engaged me to apply to you in his favour. I will introduce it by assuring you, that I look upon Atticus as my brother; and, indeed, there is no man who has a more considerable share of my heart, or from whose friendship I derive greater satisfaction.* It is in pursuance of his most earnest entreaty, as well as of Patro's, that I make the present application. And, though Atticus is by no means of a temper to be importunate, nor has any ambitious purposes of his own to gratify; yet he has desired me, with all the ardour

* The friendship which subsisted between Cicero and Atticus is so well known, even to the most common reader, that it would be impertinent to make it the subject of a note; as it would be foreign to the purpose of these remarks, to enter into the character of that celebrated Roman, who is only mentioned incidentally in this place, and bears no part in the correspondence contained in the present collection.

imaginable, to exert my utmost interest with you in this affair. Not that he is influenced by his particular attachment to this sect; for he has too much learning, as well as judgment, to be a bigot to their unphilosophical tenets; but he is swayed entirely by his friendship for Patro, and the esteem he entertained for his predecessor in this college, the worthy Phædrus. He is persuaded that my influence with you is so great, that the slightest intimation from me would prevail with you to relinquish your right to this edifice, even though you had intended to make use of it for your own purposes. If he should hear therefore, that, notwithstanding you have no such design, I have, nevertheless, proved unsuccessful in my application, he will have a worse opinion of *my* friendship than of *yours*, and imagine I did not sufficiently enforce his request. I entreat you then to signify to your agents at Athens, your consent to the repeal of the decree of the Areopagites, * which has been made in relation to this structure. Nevertheless, I will end as I began, and again assure you, that although nothing will be more acceptable to me, than your

* The Areopagites were magistrates, who presided in the supreme council and court of judicature at Athens, called the Areopagus.

compliance in the present instance; yet I press it no farther than as it may coincide with your own inclinations. Farewell.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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